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HUMAN AUSTRALASIA

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Human Australasia: Studies of Society and of Education

HUMAN AUSTRALASIA

Studies of Society and of Education in Australia and New Zealand

BY

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TO THE MEMORY OF

JAMES BRYCE
(VISCOUNT BRYCE)

Statesman, Humanist, Friend,
Student, Teacher, Historian,

whose interest quickened its writing,

This Book
is Dedicated in
Gratitude and Affection

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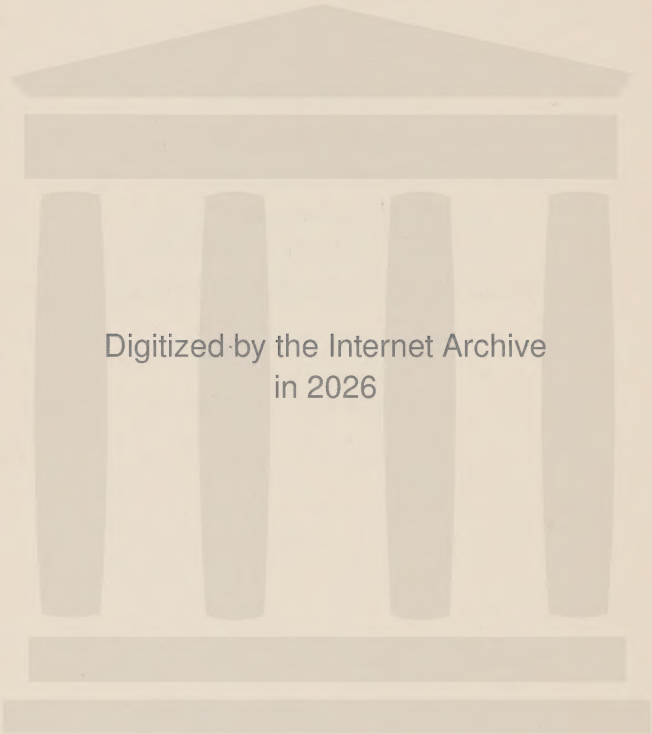
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HUMAN AUSTRALASIA

HUMAN AUSTRALASIA

I

INTRODUCTION

For at least twenty-five hundred years, man has been seeking to build up a political state. In theory and by practical endeavor has he sought to accomplish the immediate or the ultimate, and always the supreme, end. The movement has been, like the ocean tides, both progressive and regressive. It has, at times, seemed like the river flowing on, yet with eddies, whirlpools, and cross currents, disturbing the onward flow. But every triumph or defeat,—democratic, republican, oligarchical, monarchical,—has been succeeded by a new endeavor, under new conditions, reënforced by the undying Human spirit, ever quickening to the heart of man, ever enlightening to his intellect, ever strengthening to the forces of his will.

It is hardly too much to say that the attempt made in the Southern hemisphere to construct a new state, or states, is the last, up to the present hour, and outside of the war-stricken peoples, to solve the old, and

ever new, problem. In this solution the human element is by far the most important and constructive. This book is concerned primarily with the human element.

In particular, this interpretation deals in part with one people who regard themselves as a new nation, and also in part with another people who regard themselves as a distinct extension of the English-speaking race. The new nation is the Commonwealth of Australia, and the other people form the Dominion of New Zealand. Yet both peoples are one in origin, one in general condition and environment, and one in destiny. Yet a larger unity touches them. For both these peoples of the Southern hemisphere bear peculiar affinities to another branch of the English race, the United States of America. The three peoples have the same origin. They inherit and use the same language. They are nourished on the same literatures. They have founded, are supporting, and are supported by, the same institutions of the church, of the family, of property, of education. They accept, use, adopt and carry forward, constitutional government, under essentially democratic forms. They are quickened by like enthusiasms, guided by like ideals, breathe the same social atmospheres, and are apparently moving toward a not dissimilar far-off event.

Many distinct similarities and equally distinct contrasts are found in the histories of the community of the Commonwealth of Australia and of the American nation. The area of the two countries is about equal, with a small balance in favor of the Australian. The loss of power of the British government in America turned the national thought to the Southern hemisphere, and, in the year preceding the beginning of the operation of the American constitution, the first landing of British colonists was made in Australia. Each represents the pure British stock. One still represents and firmly insists on this purity, while the other has with reservations flung wide her gates to all white peoples. Out of jealous provinces or colonies, each formed, after laborious contests, a federal government. With only an intervening period of two years, each country discovered vast mines of gold, the outpouring of which altered the monetary values of the entire world. Each discovered that it possessed, or was possessed by, deserts between its seas which each has sought, and so far sought in vain, to make to blossom as the rose. Each nation, and also the allied people of New Zealand, received in early decades settlers of character so strong that the impression which they made still abides. In America, the immigration bore the name of Pilgrim or of Puritan. In Aus-

tralia, the immigration was in part the convict settlement, which, however, has largely passed away from public thought and from racial content. In New Zealand the immigration was of a peculiarly high type, religious and educational groups controlling. The three peoples represent, under diverse methods, the democratic form of government, but also a democratic form of thought, of feeling, of personal and of communal conduct. Each stands for the common man of the third estate, and, be it added, that in each land the common man has risen into a better manhood than he would have achieved, had he remained in the ancestral home. In each, the color problem is a part of the common consciousness and conscience, though in different terms. In each, too, the relation of capital and of labor, of workman and of employer, represents a large share of the constant and common thought, feeling, and anxieties.

This book is not, however, written in terms of likeness to or of contrast with the American Republic.[1] It seeks rather in terms of life, to interpret the character of old peoples under new stars, on new soils, and by the side of new seas. It is an attempt to

[1] One does not forget Darwin's comment: "I formerly imagined that Australia would rise to be as grand and powerful a country as North America, but now it appears to me that such future grandeur is rather problematical." Journal of Researches of the Beagle, Ch. XIX: written in 1836.

present, in human terms, the movements, the thoughts, the sentiments, the social and political endeavors, the types of education, the difficulties, the failures, the triumphs, the loyalties, the fascinations, the institutions, and the standards, of the society of the Southern seas.

The difficulties in making the attempt are neither few nor simple. The difficulties are, however, in general comprehended in two or three interpretations. The activity and the energy of the peoples themselves give such a sense of changefulness that it is hard to assess the worth of the resulting civilization. The contradictory judgments which these people give of themselves make consistent interpretations impossible. The antagonisms, which different classes feel to each other, and the sensitive self-consciousness of members of these classes, unite to make the understanding of a "looker-on in Venice" peculiarly doubtful. Yet these difficulties are met and largely overcome by several forces or conditions. The problems social and political, though composed of elements many and large enough to demand the keenest and broadest introspection, are also small enough to allow, and to require, a definite and precise understanding and statement. The problem of the races of Australasia is a microcosm of the most important biological problem of the future. The prob-

lem of socialism, in either moderate or extreme form, is made far more simple than would be possible in a population twenty times the size such as the United States contains. Numerous and diverse experiments in government, in the regulation of commerce and of industry are more easily studied under conditions remote, by five thousand miles, from similar movements of older peoples. The standards of life lend themselves more readily at once to understanding and to establishment in a climate which most nearly approaches the realization of man's wishes or whims. The people themselves, moreover, though properly sensitive to the opinion of foreigners, are cordial in inviting interpretation and even criticism, and are free in their own criticism of themselves.

They recognize their uniqueness; they exult in their new opportunities; they are conscious of their duties; and they are not unmindful of what they regard as their rights.

In the making of this study, rich advantages have been given me. Of course, books, historical, biographical, economic, governmental, abound. The newspapers, concerning Australia and New Zealand, covering a period of more than fifty years, have been made available. Interpretations, given me in the course of a happy visit, promoted by the characteristic courtesies of Lord Bryce, have been supple-

mented by conferences and by correspondence. Light has been given me by Governor Generals, by Prime Ministers, by College Presidents, by Judges, by Labor Leaders, by Journalists, and Authors, in fact by many men of many minds. The High Commissioner of Australia, and the British Library of Information, in New York, have been constantly helpful. Evidences thus given have been diverse, full, and often, be it added, contradictory. Out of these observations, experiences, impressions, understandings, has come the volume. It is simply an attempt to find and to tell the truth about the newest, the most interesting, the most quickening to reflection, and apparently the final, outpost of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The last man would I be to intimate that the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, has been told; yet I am willing to be summoned as the first witness to affirm that an honest attempt has been made.

II

THE WHITE AUSTRALASIA

Ethnologists in their historic and pre-historic science are in agreement on at least two propositions.

One principle of agreement is that *man began.* When he began, where he began, whether he began in one place or in several places, whether he began at one time or in different epochs, at what rate of progress or regress, under what conditions and quickened by what motives or strengthened by what forces, he proceeded—on these and on other points ethnologists differ.

The second proposition on which ethnologists agree is that, early in historic times, or earlier than those times, the race became races. The human types, if we can speak of human types of those pre-historic or historic periods, became fused, or confused. The world, in fact, became a world of mixed races. What we now call the white, the black, the brown, the yellow race, mingled their bloods and produced races of many shades of color

and of many forms of structure. The men of the north mingled with the men of the south, the men of the east with the men of the west, each with each, all with each, and each with all, unto a variety of racial results as great as are represented by the thirty-two points of the compass. That most competent authority, Sir Harry Johnston, has said:

"The first men who entered Egypt and traveled up the valley of the Nile came, almost unquestionably, from the east, and were part of those radiations from the central focus of humanity, India. It is possible that the first men who entered the valley of the Nile from this direction may have been of so primitive, simian, and undetermined a type—so 'Neanderthaloid'—as not to belong definitely to any one of the three main species of humanity. At that distant time, however (let us say at the end of the Pleistocene period or beginning of the Quaternary Epoch), there was undoubtedly a land connection over the south as well as over the north end of the Red Sea, joining Arabia to Ethiopia as well as to Egypt; and across this bridge came many types of Asiatic mammals, also man,—possibly in the form of a low Negroid, a type represented today (much changed and modified, of course) by the Congo Pygmies and South African Bushmen." [1]

[1] "The Nile Quest," by Sir Harry Johnston, page 1.

"The potent race that had so long held aloft a brightly-lighted lamp of civilization has been so changed and degraded by the infusion of Persian, Arab, Greek, Italian, Negro, Circassian, Turkish, French and Maltese blood, so often decimated by wars, famines, and diseases, and renewed with the tainted blood of mercenary armies, that, though the residuum of the population may still offer great facial resemblances to the vanished Egyptian type, the majesty of demeanor, the brilliant mental endowments of the old race have gone, and the rulers of Egypt to-day under the indifferent English are the descendants of Slavs and Turks, Arabs, Armenians, and Circassians." [1]

Stronger evidence respecting the mingling and commingling of the bloods could not be offered. If there ever were what may be called a purity of racial blood, it vanished early. Each tribe, or set of men, gave itself unto other tribes and other sets. The active racial force, in turn, became the passive receiving condition. Man became men. What occurred in the valley of the Nile has also occurred in most valleys of the globe. Conquerors have mingled with other conquerors, both with the conquered, the conquered have also, by the subsequent joining of

[1] *Ibid,* page 11.

superior strength and abilities, under certain conditions, vanquished the early conquerors.

In times and lands yet nearer, a like movement has gone forward. Gibbon has described, in many paragraphs, the push of the Huns, after their conquest of China, toward the west. He has also pointed out the incursions of Visigoths, of Goths, of Vandals, and of other barbarians, in the fifth century, into the far-flung empire of the west and of the south. But for us the significance of the migrations lies, not in the overthrow of the empire, but in the subsequent and consequent mingling of the races of the north and of the east with the peoples of the south and of the west. The simple and obvious truth is that, in pre-historic and through all historic periods, the races of men have been allied in associations which did result in many diversities of the human species. With the doctrine of the unity of mankind and of the solidarity of the race—a doctrine supported by the sciences of physiology and of anatomy—is united the doctrine and the fact of the differences of the races, a doctrine and a fact supported, in many respects, by the conclusions of the linguist and of the sociologist as well as of the ethnologist.

These general outlines I have sketched as background for the understanding of the somewhat

unique attempt which the last outpost of the Anglo-Saxon civilization is making for the preservation of its part of the human race as white. For, it is the determination of Australia and of New Zealand that the civilization of those island-continents shall be maintained as a white civilization. It is their wish and will that the institutions of the white man,—the family, the church, the school, individual property,—shall continue to be their institutions; that the racial characteristics of the white man, in intellect, in heart, in will and conscience, shall remain as their characteristics; that his life shall be their life, and his future their destiny.[1]

[1] The Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. W. M. Hughes in a speech in the Federal Parliament, on the Peace Treaty said:—"Members who have traveled in the East and in Europe will be able to understand with what difficulty this world-gathering of men, representing both colored and partly-colored peoples, was able to appreciate this idea of 5,000,000 people who had dared to say over a great continent that this was not only theirs, but none should enter in except such as they chose. Therefore, perhaps, the greatest thing we have achieved in such circumstances, in such an assembly, was the principle of a 'White Australia.' There are some at the two extremes of the poles of political opinion who do not hold these views, but, thank God, they are few in numbers, and, I hope, of limited influence. This is the foundation of all that Australia has fought for. This is the only part of the Empire or of the world in which there is so little admixture of races. In England and France you may hear men in adjoining counties or provinces speak different dialects, and, in the case of France, unable to understand

Before applying this determination to the colored races, let me point out an application of it made to the white race itself.

This application is divided into two parts. One part represents a policy, standing for a population small in numbers, eager to keep the fringe of the Australian continent as a preserve for the workmen of the great cities. This body has no welcome for the English or Scotch carpenter or machinist, coming to find employment. Its members fail to recognize the truth that every newcomer makes, as well as does, work. Their gladness is quite as great when they see the new man returning in disgust, as when they saw his ship coming up between the "Heads" of the beautiful harbor of Sydney. For the typical workman does go home and he himself is quite as glad in going as he was in coming.[1]

each other; but in no part of Australia can you distinguish one Australian from another by his speech. We are more British than Britain, and we hold firmly to this great principle of a 'White Australia' because we know what we know, and because we have liberty and we believe in our race and in ourselves, and in our capacity to achieve our great destiny."

See "The Australian Outlook," by Professor Meredith Atkinson, pp. 3-4 (footnote).

1 In a letter published by Viscount Northcliffe in *The Times* Weekly Edition of May 25, 1922, he says:

"I know that both Australia and New Zealand are naturally anxious that the immigrant should not be greeted by the specter of unemployment waiting to welcome him at the

A second application of this immigration policy is of an opposite kind. It represents no less, however, the determination of the people to maintain one race. In the interpretation of this policy, the people of the Southern hemisphere have a hearty welcome for the immigrant. Its welcome to him as a farmer, as a rancher, is far heartier for him than as an urban worker or citizen; yet it is a welcome for him under most conditions. For it is recognized and deeply felt that Australia and New Zealand must be peopled. As Lord Northcliffe has said: "Our great Dominions in the South must have people, people, and again, more people!" The importance of a large white population is realized in both Australia and New Zealand, as in Downing Street and Westminster. Empire settlement bills are passed, or are pass-

wharf gates. They are emphatic that the city laborer and the 'black-coated' worker are not wanted for the voyage.

"It is not 'something in the city' but 'something on the land' that is going to succeed in the two Dominions. Yet to both of them I would say 'Do not be too fastidious in your demands; do not erect a high palisade around your working men's paradises; do not keep your lands empty because every immigrant has not got capital or the diploma of an agricultural college in his pocket.' After all, in the brave old days of the pioneers there were no nominated jobs to go to, yet somehow the settlers succeeded. If the waster went to the wall the good man won through. Every one must find his level in the building of a young nation, and the man who has the courage to seek a new world has probably the energy to

ing, in Parliament. They represent grants in aid of settlers in every part of the British Empire.[1]

For, the need of giving such aid, there is abounding evidence. In Australia, with an area of about three million square miles, and with a population of about five and one-half millions, the number of people to a square mile is one and eight-tenths. In New Zealand, with an area a little over a hundred thousand square miles, and with a population of about a million and a quarter, the number of persons to a square mile is eleven and eight-tenths. China

make good in it once he gets there. And above all, Australians must greet them warmly as the Canadians do, and drop that contemptuous and foolish word, 'Pommy' which they apply to the immigrants. . . .

"And they must treat the newcomers with warmth and respect. Britain has too many newly returned emigrants who are warning our villagers that British folk are not *welcomed.* I wonder how many of those who go remain in Australia, and how many who, having tried sunny Australia have found a better reception in Canada!"

A recent Australian novel makes one of its characters say to another:

"He is a sojourner in a land of exile. When his sheep pay well enough to enable him to buy a place in England, where the County people will call, he'll up-stakes here and get him homewards. Pathetic, isn't it?"

[1] "The Ashes of Advancement," by Frank A. Russell, p. 12.

[1] In a Conference on State-Aided Empire Settlement, of January-February, 1921, Viscount Milner said:

"That the Conference had been summoned in order to advise upon an enduring policy of oversea settlement which

has an area of almost two million square miles, a population of about four hundred and twenty-five millions of people, which represents two hundred and twenty-five persons to a square mile. Japan has a little less than one hundred and fifty thousand square miles of area, and a population of fifty-five millions, which represents no less than three hundred and seventy-six persons to a square mile. Germany, in 1920, had an area of over two hundred and three thousand square miles, with a population of about sixty-three millions, which represents three hundred

should tend to bring about the best distribution of the man power of the Empire and so to develop and strengthen the whole Empire. He pointed out that oversea settlement should not be regarded as a means of dealing directly with abnormal unemployment in the United Kingdom, at any given moment, but as a means of remedying fluctuations of trade by developing our best markets and of permanently minimizing the risk of unemployment here and throughout the Empire. He emphasized the view of His Majesty's Government that no stone should be left unturned to secure for the Dominions the population which they require and to ensure that the outflow of population from the United Kingdom should have opportunities for settlement under the flag, in countries British in spirit and British in their institutions." Conference: Summary of Proceedings, August, 1921. p. 59.

It is worthy of note that in June, 1922, a contingent of English boys came to Adelaide under the auspices of the Government Farm Apprentice Scheme, and were at once placed on farms, in South Australia. One can hardly restrain the wish to know what and where these boys will be twenty years hence.

ten and three-tenths people to a square mile. France, with an area since the war of over two hundred and twelve thousand square miles, and with a population of nearly thirty-seven millions, has about one hundred seventy-two and five-tenths persons to the square mile. In England, the area of which is nearly fifty-one thousand square miles, with a population of over thirty-five and one-half millions, the number of persons to the square mile is seven hundred one and six-tenths.

Such comparisons, and the reflections which spring from them, at once open the question of the reasons for maintaining the white policy, and also the objections thereto. These reasons are numerous, diverse, weighty.

The first reason which I name lies implicity in the very statement of the elements of the white campaign. It is found in the fact of the probable submergence of the white race through absolute freedom of immigration. Such freedom it is believed would mean the downpour into Australia and New Zealand of the races of India, of China, and of Japan. For it is known that India would be glad to send thirty millions of her more than three hundred millions, and China more than forty millions of her more than four hundred millions. The diminution of ten per cent. of these populations, which represent almost

one-half the population of the globe, would not be noticed, or, if noticed at all, would be noticed with gladness. Such numbers flung into the seven millions of Australia and New Zealand, would submerge these island-continents. Such immigration would change, fundamentally and constitutionally, the racial, the social, the sociological, and all other conditions. To such intimations of possibility, most dwellers in Australia and New Zealand give a united and thunderous *no*.

In "The Australians," one of the characters hears the epigram: "The Australian should think in continents: he is the only person in the world who has a continent to think in." "The only frontier," the author continues, "that the Australian had, or ever contemplated, was the sea: and, a thinly-scattered people over an immense space of empty land, the Australian felt intensely the instinct of possession, and regarded every square mile of this vast tract as his personal property. To give up the ownership of even an acre to a foreign power would be to every one of the five million Australians like Shylock's pound of flesh. Yet the Australian did not seem to worry much about developing his continent or qualifying for its ownership by effective possession. The Australian feeling seemed to Madge to be that this continent had been specially reserved for the white

Australian race; it was a divine gift, to question the Australian's exclusive right to which would be sacrilege or blasphemy. A curious people." [1]

A second reason, following the sociological, is the economic. This reason has its basis in the simple fact that the immigration of Japanese, of Chinese and of Hindu, would degrade the scale of living, narrow opportunities and reduce wages of the workmen. The belief is that the amount of work to be done is limited. The number of the colored races who could, and would, enter, is practically unlimited. The division of the limited amount of work among so many would leave a small amount for the white, even if giving only small parts to the colored man. The old theory of the wage fund obtains as a belief in the trades and commerce of Australia. Furthermore, wages would become reduced, not only in the increase of the number of workmen but also through the fact that the colored races can, and do, live on a less expensive economic basis. Wages would fall to correspond to this lowered basis. Such a condition, abhorrent to the white man, would result in his subjugation, or practical elimination through emigration.

The social and economic condition of South Africa offers an impressive illustration of this process and of this result:

[1] "The Australians," by Arthur H. Adams, pp. 104-105.

"Cheap living ceases to be a good if it is attained at the cost of a lower standard of living. It is the example of this truism which they see in older communities such as Capetown that has made the Europeans of the Transvaal determined to resist the influx of a large colored population into their towns. In the poorer quarters of Capetown for generations Europeans, half-castes, Indians and Malays have lived side by side. Colored artisans of all grades of skill compete in every trade with Europeans. The result is race-mixture, a general depression of the standard of skill in skilled trades, low wages and wretched housing conditions. It is difficult in England to appreciate what Asiatic competition and the acquisition and occupation of property in the center of a town mean in the Transvaal. Here economic causes provide the safeguards which are there being sought in legislation. The proprietor of a restaurant in Piccadilly can afford to regard with equanimity the existence of a fried-fish shop in Shoreditch. Here a low standard of living is a result of poverty; in the Asiatic trader it has nothing to do with poverty and may well go with comparative wealth. If by some process the rents of half the buildings in Piccadilly fell within the reach of persons accustomed to the dirt and overcrowding, to the wretched and unwholesome life of Shoreditch, the danger with

which the municipalities of the Tranvaal are confronted would be more easily appreciated." [1]

The third reason for the maintenance of the white element is biological. Biology teaches that certain mixtures of human parts result well, and that other mixtures result ill. There is one instance in which the mixture is at the present time bringing forth good results. It is found in the Hawaiian Islands. The marriage of the native Hawaiian woman with the Chinese man is giving families which represent the best qualities of each race. But examples quite as outstanding, give evidence of bad results. India, in her Eurasians, affords striking proof. The Eurasian seems to be possessed of the less worthy qualities of both the native and the immigrant races. Of course, one may say that other considerations than biological affect and effect this conclusion. The axiomatic truth is that, for the making of experiments in biology, vast periods of time are required. The present condition of mankind is the result of these vast periods. Whether the marriage of Hawaiian and Chinese will give a good, permanent result for mankind is still uncertain, although the present evidence is happily clear. Whether the marriage of Hindu and Englishman will continue to give a bad result is uncertain, although the

[1] "The Round Table," March 1920. South Africa, p. 457.

present conclusion is painfully evident. But from our present temporary point of view, it is evident that, for biological or social, or other reasons, the mixture of races results not in the lifting up of the less worthy, but in the pulling down of the more worthy. Such an experiment, the human race is not prepared to make. The uncertainties are black with the shadows of a possible doom.

The fourth general reason in behalf of the white condition may be said to comprehend whatever force lies in the three reasons already stated. It is found in the moral results affecting the family. The family is the unit of present civilization, as well as its foundation. The family takes on diverse forms. The Chinese household of agglutination is unlike the Anglo-Saxon of individualization. But, under every form, the purity of this primary domestic relation is to be guarded and guaranteed. The mixture of the races, it is believed, breaks down the family altar or would construct opposing altars. Under no condition is such a revolution to be suffered. Such a revolution would carry down, in its disastrous effects, the social, the economic, and the best biological, results of civilization.

It is impossible to emphasize too strongly the permanent significance of the deterioration that would inevitably result to the race through the degradation

of the family. For the Anglo-Saxon unit of civilization is found in the family. In the appreciation of the family, the place of the wife and the mother is supreme. This place is more important than the power of the father, as the *patria potestas* is illustrated in the Roman family. The degree of civilization or of barbarism obtaining in any condition of society is well measured by the respect paid to the women of that society. Savages treat women as tools. Civilized races treat women as conditions and forces, having ends in themselves. It is to be feared that, through general freedom of immigration, the white races would naturally drift toward a debasing of the position of women and, in consequence, toward the degradation of the family. The moral code of the sexes would be broken down. The assaults upon the primary social unit would be made both insidious, constant, and most forceful. Intermarriages between peoples of traditions fundamentally different and of circumstances dissimilar could not but result in disaster. Children thus born, even if biologically sound, would be the victims of social prejudices and discriminations of the utmost harmfulness.

In any consideration of the wisdom of the maintenance of the white race in the Southern seas, it is never to be forgotten that such purity would also

prove to be of advantage to the colored races themselves. Conflicts between the races are peculiarly fundamental problems. They represent personal antagonisms, as well as antagonisms that belong to peoples of different origins and traditions. If, in such intermixtures, the white race is corrupted, the colored races would be permanently disgraced. If the higher place of the white man, which he is inclined to consider himself as occupying, should be lowered, the position of the colored man would not be lifted; it might become depressed. Such reasoning has peculiar value, as applied to Australia and New Zealand, as Australia and New Zealand are contrasted with other parts of the world, parts in which the colored man and the white have already become more or less assimilated, at least in social and economic relations. Large sections of South America would welcome a larger coming of people who are not white. Many parts of Africa, too, are not supporting so large a population as their resources in soil and in minerals would allow. Australia and New Zealand are not, therefore, closing their doors in utter disregard of the welfare of the millions of people who could remove from their present habitations to other parts of the world which approach the South lands in their desirableness. Therefore, the Commonwealth and the Dominion are

not entirely selfish in what is called their discrimination against the colored races.

Such are some of the chief reasons for the assurance that the island-continents of Australia and New Zealand should be kept for the white race.

There are also reasons against the white policy, reasons of great weight. It is argued that, both as a fact and as a force or method of civilization, the white policy represents individual and national selfishness. Despite its altruisms of speech and of deed, manifest in healing and civilizing activities in conquered provinces, despite its just governments imposed on "inferior" and other peoples, despite its educational and religious missions in foreign lands, it must be confessed that the white race contains a big strain of selfishness. Some would maintain that this selfishness is only a proper form of self-love, and that its manifestations are evidences of aggressive piety. But even if the white race knows, and more or less seeks to obey, the command to "love your neighbor as yourself," it has not forgotten to love itself! How could it love its neighbors much, unless it loved itself quite as much? It is not commanded to love its neighbor more than it loves itself! It is also plain, as I have intimated, that some members of the white people now living in

these South lands are determined to keep the number of the white men, herein dwelling, small. The population does not increase in any worthy proportion, by either birth or immigration. Alarm is felt in certain parts of Australia, notably the State of Victoria, over the small number of births. Even the immigration of the white man, as I have already said, is discouraged by many workers, and by some unions into which workers are organized. The carpenters, the plumbers, the machinists, do not hold out a hearty welcome to the carpenters, the plumbers, the machinists from overseas. The tradesman also knows that, if men come to Australia to become farmers, or pastoralists, after a brief experience in the "Never-Never" land, many of them will return to the great cities, increasing unfittingly the proportion of those who dwell in the towns in comparison with those who dwell on the plains.

Such a policy cannot be interpreted as other than a policy of selfishness. Will the world allow such selfishness to obtain? Will the world allow Australian fields to be untilled, and New Zealand plains to be uncropped? The pressure of the world to get more fields and more and richer pasturage is tremendous. The pressure is now great. It will become greater in the future. The question of such limitation belongs vitally to the present, but it also

belongs and more vitally to the year 3000. For the world's area for raising crops is well occupied, and is becoming better occupied with each succeeding generation. Is the world going to permit Australia to have Australia to herslf? Will the world allow the social and racial conditions and forces in one land to over-ride the economic good of all lands? This question I asked of Sir John MacFarland, Chancellor of the University of Melbourne. His reply was, "That is another question from the one of which we have spoken." My most obvious answer was, "But that is a question which must be answered by your and my children's children."

It is the question, however, which Earl Grey discussed in a speech made a decade ago, after a tour of Australia, in which he said: "How to increase your rural population is the one great, overwhelming problem with which Australia is faced. On the satisfactory solution of that problem everything else depends. Unless you make good use of your land a stronger people, who can make better use of it, will take it from you. If you wish to keep your Continent white you must increase your population." [1]

So far, however, it is not to be forgotten that Aus-

[1] The Joseph Fisher Lecture in Commerce delivered at the University of Adelaide, 28th of April, 1914, by the Hon. David J. Gordon, M. L. C., p. 43.

tralia has succeeded, beyond other countries, in keeping her doors closely shut. Indeed its exclusion acts are impressive as compared to the acts and procedures of other countries and governments. To Argentina in the sixty years between 1857 and 1917 came five millions of people as immigrants. In the last thirty years, more than three million immigrants have entered Brazil. But between 1861 and 1918, after deducting emigrations, less than a million have come to Australia. The increase by births to the population has been almost four times the increase made by immigration, though the birth-rate is now falling.

There is, however, a form of this problem less broadly international, and perhaps far more immediate. Australia recognizes that she could not, by herself, keep out the Japanese. The British Navy and Army form her defense. But let it be supposed that a day should dawn, as it may, when, in order to retain her friendship with Japan, the British Government should decline to confirm and to promote Australia's white policy. Is it not in the range of possibility that the British might be willing to sacrifice Australia and her white policy for the sake of friendship with Japan? Can it not be reasoned that a government ought to sacrifice the lesser to the greater good? Such a question may

not at the present moment have the meaning that it had before the agreements of the Washington Conference of November and December of 1921. But the question is at least somewhat pertinent, and again it may become even more and most pertiment.

This pertinence, however, does become less forceful when one considers the lasting and fundamental elements which seem to join together the various branches of the one British race. The British Empire is one, as was proved in the Great War. Downing Street feels itself akin to the Commonwealth capital in Melbourne, and the Commonwealth capital recognizes its kinship with Downing Street. The relationship is not simply governmental. It represents ties of tradition and of blood. Certain bloods are not only thicker than water, but certain bloods seem thicker than certain other bloods. The union of all branches of the whole British race represents one of the strongest unities of history; and this union becomes more vital (leaving out certain sections of Ireland) with each generation.

There is also the climatic reason.[1] Queensland

[1] "Mr W. A. Horn, formerly a member of the South Australian Legislature and now a well-known Anglo-Australian in London, wrote to the *Register* on Wednesday advocating coolie labor in the Northern Territory. His views are widely supported by men who know the North, and among others is the Premier (Mr. Barwell), who made the following statement:—

and Northern Australia touch, in their northern parts, latitude 10° 50′. It is said that the white man cannot live and rear a family permanently strong in such a climate. The general reasons look toward such a conclusion. But it is also said, in opposition, that the white man can live in any part of the tropics if he will adopt a proper method and mode of life. He can live, it is declared, between the equator or the Tropic of Cancer, or the Tropic of Capricorn, as well as the man black, or the man brown. The difficulty of his living in these torrid zones lies in the fact that he has been ignorant of the proper methods of living. Given knowledge, and the ap-

'I have read with interest Mr. Horn's letter. Speaking generally, I agree with the comments in the *Register*. All I have read and heard on the subject of the Northern Territory leads me to believe that it cannot be fully developed without colored labor. It is a tropical country, and must therefore, it would seem, be developed under tropical conditions. The Territory is capable of producing on a commercial basis rice, maize, sugar cane, tea, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and many other useful tropical products. It is a thousand pities that a country of such wonderful resources should remain unproductive and unpeopled, a veritable white elephant to Australia. If it be true that only the colored races can develop the resources of the Northern Territory, then the question arises as to whether they should be brought into Australia as coolie labor under indentures for white men, or whether selected Asiatics should be permitted to settle in the country, with full citizen rights. It does seem to me that the second alternative is the only one worthy of consideration. I believe that nothing much can be done towards

plication of his knowledge, he can live as well in the hot places of the earth as he can in the temperate.

It is, of course, too early to determine what the effect on the white race of living in a tropical climate may permanently prove to be. Examinations are now being made of these effects. One scientist, who lived for a term of years in Northern Queensland, has said to me that, for the time being, the effects were not evil, provided that proper precautions were taken. But he also intimated that absences from the torrid zone should be frequent and prolonged. Of course, too, the effects are not simply physical, but also social. The type of society that might be promoted among white men, dwelling permanently in the tropics, has primary value. The effect upon both the social and hygienic relations of the white race is a matter demanding constant vigilance, as well as prolonged attention. But, whatever may be said regarding the possibility of the white man making his home and rearing his family beneath the

the settlement and development of the Territory until the trans-continental line is constructed. When the great national work is completed Port Darwin will become the gateway to the whole of Australia. We cannot allow the future of the Territory to remain unsolved much longer. Such a country cannot forever remain unsettled and unproductive. I believe that ultimately it will be generally realized that it can only be fully settled and effectively developed by colored people.'" *The West Australian*, January 5, 1922.

equator it is clear that the reasons for keeping New Zealand a white man's country are far stronger than for keeping Australia a white man's country. For in every part of the smaller island, the white man can live and work and thrive. For Northern New Zealand latitude is 34° 20′, and the Southern part is about 47°. It represents a climatic condition, if not the best, surely one of the best in the world for the white race. Mountain and plain, salt water and fresh, fertile soil and rich pasturage and all other conditions, are most favorable for rearing and for working.

As a fact, it may be said, however, that the restrictions against immigration in New Zealand are less severe than in the larger island. In the year 1920, no less than five hundred and twenty-three Chinese landed in Auckland, and one hundred and eighty-eight Hindus in Wellington. Protests by returned soldiers and by other associations were made, and made strongly. The result has been the introduction of a bill into the legislature which might be called an act for the total exclusion from New Zealand of the Chinese. Upon this restrictive method a wise interpreter has said:—"It has in the past been England's pride and England's strength that she has been the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, of all classes, of all religions, of a Garibaldi, a Mazzini, a

Kossuth. In spite of projects for a League of Nations and of attempts to bring the peoples of the world into closer touch and closer sympathy with each other, New Zealand's Government is adopting the attitude of 'Here comes a stranger. 'Eave 'alf a brick at him.' Their Immigration Restriction Bill is one of the most arbitrary and reactionary measures ever introduced in a British community." [1]

In the endeavor, both legislative and administrative, to keep Australia and New Zealand white, it is enlightening that an illustration touching the population of another island, or group of islands, which is not white, be offered. Hawaii is American territory. But the Hawaiians as now constituted are a world people. Here are brought together the races in a promiscuousness, the most miscellaneous of any single period, or of any single people, in all history. The most recent statistics show that the number of Americans, British, Germans and Russians in Hawaii is 37,409; of Chinese, 22,378; of Filipinos, 23,971; of Hawaiians, 21,907; of Japanese, 114,879; of Koreans, 5,327; of Asiatic-Hawaiians, 6,499; of Caucasian-Hawaiians, 11,348; of Portuguese, 23,257; of Porto Ricans, 5,491; of Spaniards, 848; and others, 570.

To these figures may be added that three out of

[1] The Round Table, December 1920. New Zealand. p. 223.

every five children, or sixty per cent., born in this territory, are born of oriental parents. Of this oriental parentage, the larger share is of Japanese origin. In fact, out of all children born on the islands, one-half are Japanese. Judged by these figures, Hawaii is only another name of a small and diversified Nippon.

But these facts are made still more emphatic by the rate of racial increase found, not only in Hawaii, but in other parts of the world. The birth-rate of the Japanese in Hawaii, was, of a recent year, forty-two per thousand while, for another group that might be called American-British-German-Russian, the rate was less than sixteen. The Asiatic-Hawaiian group had a birth-rate of seventy-eight per thousand. In Australasia the birth-rate, per thousand, was of a recent year a little less than twenty-seven.

Birth-rates per 1,000 of Population [1]

Country	1800 to 1810	1810 to 1820	1820 to 1830	1830 to 1840	1840 to 1850
England	..	34	..	..	..
Scotland	..	..	..	..	..
Ireland	..	..	..	..	..
United Kingdom...	..	..	..	..	..

[1] From "The Twin Ideals," by Sir James Barrett. Vol. I, p. 341.

Birth-rates per 1,000 of Population [1]

Country	1800 to 1810	1810 to 1820	1820 to 1830	1830 to 1840	1840 to 1850
France	33	31.8	30.6	28.8	27.3
Germany ...	..	44	..	..	37.5
Austria-Hungary ...	..	..	..	39.7	..
Italy	..	..	..	..	..
Holland	..	..	..	..	34.9
Denmark	..	..	..	..	32.8
Belgium	..	..	..	33.4	30.3
Norway	..	30.6	..	31.3	32.4
Sweden	..	34.1	..	31.4	..
Switzerland .	..	..	..	..	..
Russia	39.6	..	44.6	..	45.5

Country	1850 to 1860	1860 to 1870	1870 to 1880	1880 to 1890	1890 to 1898
England	..	..	34	..	30.8
Scotland	..	..	..	..	...
Ireland	..	..	..	..	..
United Kingdom ..	..	..	34.17	31.4	29.8
France	26.1	26	25.6	24.6	22.1
Germany	36.8	38.7	40.7	38.5	36.7
Austria-Hungary ...	40.6	38.2	39.7	38	..
Italy	..	37.5	36.9	38	36.6
Holland	..	36.3	35.2	34.8	33.8
Denmark	..	31	31.5	32.5	30.6
Belgium	30	31.6	32.1	30.7	29.5
Norway	..	30.8	30.8	31.1	30.7
Sweden	32.4	..	30.8	29.4	27
Switzerland ..	..	29.8	32.2	28.2	28.4
Russia	..	50.7	48.4	48.7	47.1

Such facts carry their own inevitable teaching. At this rate of increase, the territory of Hawaii is becoming a melting pot in which the races of the orient are becoming the more and most dominating element.

The proponent of the white Australia and white New Zealand will declare that these facts prove the wisdom of the white policy for the great islands. The antagonist of the white policy, on the contrary, will argue that the harmony in which these diverse races live, that the developments of agriculture, the chief industry, in the islands, made through "assisted immigration," do give evidence that interracial peace in the South land would not be jeopardized, and that national prosperity would be enhanced, by a free policy of immigration. But both proponent and objector would agree that centuries are required for the full conclusion of such a complex of biological processes and forces. Meantime, possibly both would agree, though with less fullness of assent, that the American island should be allowed to solve the problem of the world through its experiment station, and that the British island, or islands, should also in this long period be permitted to preserve their Territory for their own people. To these two preëminent and contradictory examples of most serious human movements, the thinkers of the world do, and will, give

their profoundest powers of observation and of reflection.

Between these arguments for and objections to the white policy in Australia and New Zealand, what method can be adopted which shall worthily promote the highest aims of those who demand that these islands shall be maintained as white populations and also shall secure the purposes of those who believe that the world interests require a less exclusive policy? In answer, I beg leave to suggest whether a certain amount, or proportion, of immigration should not be allowed? The proportion should be such as would promote the development of the industries of the islands, but would not be so large as to overwhelm the white population. The United States has now in force a form of such limitation. Various other forms of such limitations have been, from time to time, proposed. It has been, for instance, urged that a certain number of Chinese, of Hindus, of Japanese, might be allowed to come into America. The number is to be determined by reference to the economic life of the American people. It is believed that America should be kept for Americans, but that this keeping should not be maintained in a selfish or narrow spirit. Could a similar policy be adopted in respect to Australia and New Zealand? The figures I have quoted of the Chinese and the Hindus,

who have been allowed in New Zealand, represent, as a fact, an application of this theory. Such a compromise is of course not free from difficulty. It awakens the prejudice and the protest of a certain part of the community. It also defies the proverb of the duty of resisting beginnings. But it does promote the development of these great continents, which the world demands should not remain as they now are.

Such a solution, as well as the significance, of the whole question becomes the more important by reason of the increasing ease of the transfer of peoples from one part of the globe to other parts. The world shrinks. In a unique sense, the oneness of all peoples, in external relations becomes greater. The facilities of transportation of persons and goods enlarge. The manufactures of one nation are sold, and are made to be sold, to all nations. The methods of life obtaining in London become the methods in every capital city of the British Empire. Chinese railroads are built of Belgian money. The university system of South Africa is not unlike that of New Zealand. The flag follows trade, rather than trade the flag, and both follow and precede the individual. Bloods are mixed and intermixed. It is more and more difficult, some would say impossible, to keep the races apart. All artificial processes of

prevention and obstruction prove to have small value in the face of the immediate personal proximity.

In all present consideration of racial problems, it is not to be forgotten, too, that social prejudice began early in historic times and has never ceased to be a virulent force. War, that unfailing occupation and amusement of mankind, was at once cause and result of such prejudice. Peoples conquered in war were held to be peoples inferior in personal and communal merit, as well as in arms. The repugnance, too, held among and against peoples, created, in turn, a warlike atmosphere and quickened warlike movements and assaults. The Greeks, for instance, divided the world between themselves and the barbarians. The Greeks further divided themselves, on the basis of judgment and of feeling, as the Peloponesian war proves. The barbarians also were divided and subdivided into multitudinous varieties of depreciations and antagonisms. The early Romans despised many of those who dwelt near the boundaries of the seven-hilled city. The Latins felt a degree of repugnance for all who were not Latins. The people of the Italian peninsula contemned the people of northern Africa. Throughout all time and in all parts, the people of one section have felt a dislike, or repulsion, or antagonism, to people of other sections. The division in language, substantial as it

is, is only a token of the division in sympathy, in personal, tribal and national relationships.

The reasons of such racial prejudice form a problem belonging at once to the physiologist and the psychologist, to the ethnologist and to the patriot. The feeling may have its origin in the sense of self-protection. Human life among the early races was held cheap. It was easily taken. Food was scarce and poor. The conditions of existence were hard. The need, therefore, of the defense of self and of one's home was urgent and constant. A consequent antagonism to those living beyond one's own tribe or outside one's own sacred altar was inevitable.

The psychologist might also ask the question whether the ordinary human being does not naturally, as it is said, feel a certain degree of repugnance to the members of the races and of communities unlike his own. I recall well the impression made on my wife and on myself on reaching India, after traveling in Japan and China. "These Indians," I said, "are my brothers." For them I had a kinship of mind and of heart, which I did not feel for the people to the north and to the farther east. The physiologist declares, as does Scripture, that all men are of one blood. But even if this fundamental element be identical, it is also true that apparently from earliest times the conditions of climate,

of food, of circumstances of existence, differed. Such differences, of course, worked on the character and the characteristics of the races, altering character in fundamental elements and modifying characteristics in relations, either fundamental or superficial.

Yet in view of such a condition for the whole world, and, in particular, for the South lands of the world, I believe that we should face the future with both patience and hopefulness. We cannot believe that the present age is the last. We should not accept present methods as the wisest, present conditions as ultimate, present beliefs as eternal convictions, present conclusions as absolute truth. Changes as great as those occurring in the last two thousand years will occur in the next two thousand. The consummation is apparently far-off. That the present is finality is an illusion. If there be a God,—a belief to which most thinking men assent,—He is eternal and of good intent. From the welter and the mixture of peoples, no less than from the purity of racial strains, therefore, He will bring forth a better result than the perplexities and darkness of the present day can intimate. In such a conclusion such rationalists as Herbert Spencer and Frederic Harrison and such poets as Tennyson and Browning, unite.

The doctrines of evolution and the doctrines of the Christian religion join in the belief, through some unknown process, of the perfectibility of man. "The best is yet to be."

III

INDUSTRIAL EXPERIMENTATION AND UNREST

The last decade of the last century and the first two decades of the new century are made notorious by the industrial unrest of the workers of the world. This unrest is no where more fundamental and virulent than in Australia and New Zealand. In the earlier period, between 1888 and 1893, no part of the world witnessed a struggle more constant or more determined than prevailed in Australia. All the marks of hatred and of unreasoned forcefulness, (excepting bloodshed), ruin to property and to industries, serious damage to individual and to family, were seen, heard, felt. Strikes, beginning with the coal miners of New Castle, bad in themselves, presently became a sympathetic strike, involving sailors, wharf-laborers, and other classes. The shearers, a most important part of labor, threw down their tools, in the three great provinces of New South Wales, South Australia, and Queensland. The Broken Hill miners then, as they have not infreqently done since,

declared a strike which added confusion to confusion. These diverse strikes were, as I have intimated, characterized by the same turmoil, vehement discussion, and antagonisms, which were and are found in the severer forms of strikes in America,—and yet with one exception: Australian labor and capital did not come, and seldom do come, into war resulting in bloodshed.

In the latter part of the period a worse condition has seemed to prevail. In the six States which constitute the Commonwealth of Australia, there were in the year 1913, 208 labor disputes; in 1914, 337; in 1915, 358; in 1916, 508; in 1917, 444; in 1918, 298; in 1919, 460; and in 1920, 554. In each of these years, the total number of working people involved was: in 1913, 50,283; in 1914, 71,049; in 1915, 81,292; in 1916, 170,683; in 1917, 173,970; in 1918, 56,439; in 1919, 157,591; in 1920, 155,566.

The number of working days lost in each of these years was: in 1913, 623,528; in 1914, 1,090,395; in 1915, 583,225; in 1916, 1,678,930; in 1917, 4,599,658; in 1918, 580,853; in 1919, 6,308,226; in 1920, 1,872,065. But the more significant loss in wages is summed up as follows: in 1913, £287,739; in 1914, £551,128; in 1915, £299,633; in 1916,

£967,604; in 1917, £2,594,808; in 1918, £372,334; in 1919, £3,951,936; in 1920, £1,223,716.[1]

This statement, succinct and comprehensive, is of tremendous significance. It simply proves that the newest world is, like the old and the oldest world, a world of the antagonisms of capital and of labor.

The circumstances and the causes which have contributed to such conditions, industrial and social, are diverse and manifold, specific and general. These circumstances and causes may be divided into two classes: First, those of a more permanent nature, and, secondly, those which are of timely value.

One cause, or condition which was, and is, fundamental lies in the character of the British race itself. The immigration into Australia and New Zealand has been of British origin. The British race is an aggressive and progressive people. Its dynamic quality has been one of its chief characteristics, from Runnymede to Marston Moor, and from Marston Moor to Ypres. It has been given, and is given, rather to action than to reflection. Its immediate deeds and activities are remote from long considered intellectual reflections. It has been, and is, a race

[1] Australian Statistics, prepared by the Commonwealth Statistician under the instructions from The Minister of State for Home and Territories, 1921, p. 131.

rather of will than of intellect, rather of intellect than of feeling. Its achievements in the realm of the practical, are far superior to its attainments in the philosophical, sphere.

Moreover, the members and representatives of this race, coming to Australia, found themselves possessed of natural resources far exceeding their fondest dreams. The land had rich pasturage for unnumbered herds and flocks. The mines teemed with gold and silver and coal, showing the settlers from London and from Lancashire, from Edinburgh and from Canterbury, visions of unmeasured prosperity. Such visions at once constituted and quickened desires. These desires took on all forms for human betterment. Each experiment, or method, if succeeding, aroused a spirit for further adventure. If failing, it served to increase the will for new attempts.

To the elements of race and of resource as a permanent foundation for industrial experimentation are to be added the elements of area and of climate. Australia is a land of wide spaces. In area greater than the United States, and consisting of plains in which are included immense desert lands, it gives a sense of largeness, and of the out-of-doors. Such largeness creates a sense of freedom. Freedom promotes individuality. Individuality nourishes eccentricity. Eccentricity is the mother of radicalism. But also,

be it said, a small population of only six million people scattered over an immense area gives a sense of aloneness. Aloneness means isolation. Isolation stands for reaction to bounds and to boundaries. Such reactions naturally result in socialism, and socialism, in its present state of development, spells unrest.

In a field quite unlike the geographical is found a further permanent reason for the social and industrial restlessness. It lies in the personal character and place of the settlers. Two interesting events, or movements, synchronized in European and Australian history. The overthrow of the Liberal Democratic Movement in Europe in 1848 and the following years is contemporaneous with the discovery of gold in Australia. The hopelessness of securing, in the old country, political and economic reforms, turned the thoughts of democratic leaders to the Southern lands. The Chartist Movement was transferred from the British Isles in the North Sea to the islands of the Southern Ocean. Henry Parkes, David Syme, James Service, Graham Berry, had taken an active part in the Chartist movement, or had been sympathetic with all that this movement represented. Such men, coming to Australia, and to New Zealand, created the agencies and made the soil for the growing of industrial and social theories

and movements. In passing it may be added that Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke,—that star of English politics of rapid rise and of more rapid and disastrous fall,—was a member of the legislative council of New South Wales for seven years preceding this eventful period, from 1843 to 1850.

Another cause is of a narrow nature and yet worthy of mention. It relates to a sad phase of Australian history. It touches the convict system. For many years, both to New South Wales and to Tasmania, England sent convicts. In Australia one finds alternate waves of the early settlers, who represent either the better or the best or the worse and the worst side of such immigration. It is hard, after two generations, to discriminate between these waves or layers or zones. But they have, for the decades, acted and re-acted upon each other. Yet it is to be said that the grandchildren of some of these convicts have become modern anarchists. They are determined to overturn. The labor union, as well as the labor government, forms the field and constitute the force of their operation.

Moreover, the early moral, or racial, conditions of the Australian colonists cannot but be recognized as among the causes of the present industrial restlessness. The origin of a country determines its character for generations. Australia began with the

gold fever and rush of '51. The purpose of this rush was to get rich. To get rich was nothing less than a passion. The passion stood for restlessness, for change, for on-going. The contrast with the coming of the *Mayflower* to New England is as deep as human nature. The Pilgrims came with the primary motive of promoting religion. The impulse of duty sent them across the tempestuous sea. Duty was their rallying cry; religion their supreme motive. After three score years and ten, the rush of the early settlers of Australia for gold has become a materialistic desire. The idea of duty does not dominate. The idea of pleasure, as the result of wealth, has come to rule. Happiness controls. Among the descendants of the Pilgrims, efficiency, or doing things well, is still a virtue. In Australia efficiency is a crime. (Such is the judgment of certain Australian citizens.)

A further permanent cause is found in the tolerance of the people of Australia and of New Zealand. Tolerance is indeed a British characteristic. Democracies, as ordinarily organized, are distinguished by a breadth of interpretation which makes for the freedom of the individual and of the whole community. Democracy may, of course, be so organized as to result in autocracy, and the consequent enslavement of the community. The mob spirit is

liable to result in an autocracy, either monarchistic or oligarchic. When the mob spirit becomes aroused, no single tyrant is so intolerant as a democracy. Australia and New Zealand have been absorbed with their own personal communal business. The field of vision and of coöperation has been broad. The Australasian world opens numerous and diverse opportunities. To even criminal offenses, the community has been prone to be too lenient. When to the dominance of the principle of liberty is added the growth of the principle of equality, tolerance is the prevailing and inevitable result at least in political, social and industrial concerns. Such a condition spells experimentation, and experimentation, as both cause and result, spells restlessness.

A further reason, of a lasting nature, is found in the antagonism of many workmen in Australia and New Zealand to the capitalistic system of industry. This antipathy, of course, belongs to most workers of the entire world. The doctrines of Marx prevail. The capitalist is regarded as the foe, or at least not the friend, of the worker, and the system, which he represents, as being opposed, root and branch, to the interests of labor. The pragmatic character of society makes the removal of this conception difficult.

Akin to such antagonism, a further reason is found promoting experimentation and consequent

restlessness. It lies in the difficulty of understanding and appreciating the complex relations of capital to labor, and of labor to capital. These relations are, each one knows who thinks at all, most complex. The student of Mill's great book of seventy years ago, as well as the student of recent treatises in economics, well appreciates the difficulty of understanding such relationships. For the laborer to understand such relationships and to solve such problems is as difficult as for him to attempt to be a scholar in quaternions.

The last permanent cause of unrest which I shall name is found in the remoteness of the island-continents. For Australia and New Zealand are remote to a degree surpassing our common belief. Sydney, the chief city of Australia, is six thousand miles from San Francisco, and, by way of Honolulu, about three weeks are required for the voyage. From Wellington to Raratonga of the Cook Islands the distance is eighteen hundred miles, from Raratonga to Tahiti, six hundred and thirty miles, and from Tahiti to San Francisco, thirty-six hundred and sixty miles. Australia and New Zealand are great island-continents or continental islands, situated in parts most remote from the older Anglo-Saxon peoples. In the population of about six millions there is no body of unemployed workmen waiting

only to be summoned, in the case of strikes, to take the places thus made vacant. India, China, and Japan are not quite so remote as the homeland of England. Less than three weeks of sailing separate Shanghai from Sydney and Melbourne. There is, therefore, no large body of unemployed men waiting to take the place of strikers.

To the permanent conditions which I have already named as causes of industrial unrest in the South lands, I now wish to add certain causes which are more or less timely. These timely causes represent the forces at work in promoting the labor restlessness of the last, and of the present, generation. The first of these causes, based on what has been said in the preceding chapter, is the desire of Australia to keep itself a white nation. This determination has close relationship with industrial unrest. For there is no small amount of menial and humble work to be done in every great commonwealth. If Australia and New Zealand are to be kept white communities, it is the white man who is necessarily made the menial. The black man, the yellow man, the brown man, upon whom such tasks are usually imposed, are not at hand to perform them. The white man is at once the agent and the victim of his own so-called superior civilization. Machinery may relieve him somewhat, at times a great deal, in performing such

duties. But, at the least, there is a large amount of most humble work still to be done by his own white hands. Against such doings he is, on the whole, inclined to rebel. Rebellion springs from and results in personal and industrial unrest.

A further reason, apparently of a transient nature, is found in the disagreement, or over-lapping, of the decisions of the Arbitration Courts of the Commonwealth with the decision of Wage and similar Boards in the different States. Whatever reason may be found lying beneath or beyond these contradictions, these contradictions themselves have tended to disorganize the union of labor parties and indeed the whole labor movement. It has thrown the labor men into contrary moods, out of which has arisen the one prevailing thought of the desire for the higher wage, for the shorter day and for better conditions. This cause is interpreted by a friend of mine in dealing with the current dissatisfaction over the legal method of settling industrial disputes. He says:

"Many historical instances can be quoted to show that a period of prosperity and power is more likely to be a period of unrest than a time of sordid misery and destitution. The men most likely to rebel are those who find themselves arrested in their progress towards a higher standard. Such has been the position of the Australian worker in the last twelve years.

Add to this the facts that popular education has raised the working class to at least a constantly progressing standard of knowledge, that industrial organization and the acquisition of political power have given them possession of paramount authority, and we go far to account for the phenomenon. The Australian workers have passed beyond the stage at which they revolt against economic pressure almost without consciousness of its meaning, but simply from a vague understanding that the time has come to strike out for an improvement. Now they act from policy, with a deliberate and self-conscious endeavor, not merely to maintain the existing standard of life, but to elevate it by an indefinite number of increments to wages. This is clearly shown by the fact that most Wages Boards have to consider continual applications from the same industry for new awards. This tendency is accentuated by the fact that Trade Union secretaries now spend much of their time as advocates before Wages Boards, and are naturally inclined to justify their existence by working for fresh awards. This process maintains a more or less permanent state of friction between employers and workers. It may, indeed, be said that the peculiarly Australian method of bringing about industrial peace largely achieves the opposite end by inducing on both sides a highly organized

system of offense and defense, which possibly makes as much for war as for peace. Moreover, it is not sufficiently remembered that whatever the machinery devised for industrial conciliations, if it does not fully satisfy one side or the other, trouble will ensue. It is beyond hope that the workers will ever reach finality in their claims for increments of wages or that the employers will ever concede their demands without a struggle. This general observation is greatly reinforced when we come to consider the defects of the machinery of arbitration which arouse the hostility of the workers. The most fruitful cause of discontent in this connection is the amount of delay in the issue of awards by Wages Boards. These delays may not result directly in strikes, but they create the atmosphere conducive to industrial dispute, and occasion a feeling of irritation which breaks out in a strike if the award granted falls far below the wishes of appellants."[1] Such is the lamentable result of the work of Industrial Courts and Arbitration Boards.

A further timely cause is well expressed by President Jethro Brown of the Industrial Court of South Australia, a most competent interpreter. He says:

[1] Australia, Economic and Political Studies. Chapter I. *Australian Outlook*, by Professor Meredith Atkinson, Editor, pp. 22-23.

"The increase in the cost of living, the progress of popular education, aspiration and ideals, and world-wide influences such as the syndicalist movement, have combined to create, if not a divine discontent, certainly industrial unrest. In particular, literature of a more or less syndicalist character is imported into Australia, and although such literature may find its more energetic exponents among recent immigrants from foreign nationalities which have never enjoyed the measure of freedom and justice (political, civil, industrial) which is enjoyed in Australia, the contagion spreads; conclusions, possibly applicable in some older countries under a despotic sway, are accepted in all their force as if they were as applicable in Australia as in the country of their origin." [1]

Another cause is the real shortage of laborers in relation to the work which is offered, or which could easily and fittingly be provided. Such an undersupply of ordinary laborers prompts laborers irritated or dissatisfied to throw down their picks, their shovels, or their shears, and to demand a higher wage.

An additional cause of a timely nature lies in the

[1] Australia, Economic and Political Studies. Chapter V. "The Judicial Regulation of Industrial Conditions," by President Jethro Brown, p. 216.

demand for the forty-hour week. This demand has sprung up in the last generation with special force. With the demand for higher wages has gone along a demand for a shorter day and week. With a bit of jocoseness, it has been said that the proper time and wage for a workman is five hours a day for five days a week at five dollars a day.

Another form, or cause, of the strike is found in what is known as the "go-slow" or "lazy" strike. It represents a desire to lessen the output. The minimum in the government dockyards has been reduced by riveters from a normal work of 273 rivets a day to 73 a day. It represents also a decision of telephone operators to answer only a limited number of calls.

Another timely cause of the unrest is found in the success of the labor party as a political party. For the labor party going into politics has proved to be a dominant force. It has secured and held its adherents with as great a degree of firmness as any other party in Commonwealth or State politics. Its methods have been both direct and indirect. It has employed the caucus system in partisan discussion and decision. It has subordinated the individual to his party with special force and success. No section of the community has ever so unrelentingly controlled general political action as has the labor party. It

has at times, of course, suffered defeat. It has at times altered its political affiliations. It has entered into combinations diverse, and, as it has proved, transient. But it has won its way at many elections, and it always has proved to be a dominant, if not a dominating, force.

These causes both lasting and timely have contributed to a result touching the condition of labor and capital in Australia and New Zealand which spells deep dissatisfaction, profound unrest, and gives a sense of hopelessness for the future.[1]

This long review of strikes and of their causes,

[1] The London Telegraph of 5th April, 1921 says:—

"Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has returned from his seven months' lecture tour in Australia and New Zealand thoroughly convinced of the failure of public control of industry. 'It is carried to a much greater extent in Australia than here,' he said in an interview last evening. 'In my opinion it is a complete failure in every branch. Their telephones, telegraphs, posts, railways, everything I touched was bad, and that was not at all on account of any national slackness, because the few things left in private hands, such as the ferry-boat service in Sydney Harbour, are extremely good. The reason is clear. If the employees disagree with the Government, which is always a Labor Government, they can vote solidly against it and apply all sorts of pressure. All these Labor problems are rather dangerous there. The Australians, however, are a good, solid people, and the sanity of the community, I think, will prevent any real trouble. I do not think in their whole history has there been anything so mad as the flooding of the mines by the miners who have to get their living out of them."

both permanent and timely, leads also to the consideration of what is done or to be done toward the amelioration of the distressing condition. These methods are largely summed up in statutes, in institutions and agencies, known as Industrial Boards and Arbitration Courts. These agencies belong both to the Commonwealth of Australia and to the different States. The principles which underlie both of these movements are well expressed in a series of propositions made by Chief Justice Higgins of the High Court of Australia, a position from which he retired in 1920 after many years of notable service. A correspondent, writing soon after his resignation, said:

"The existence of a single distinguished personality in control of the Federal Court was of great value. His judgments were always lucid and comprehensive, and they were followed in other jurisdictions. But he made two capital, though perhaps inevitable, errors. He practically ignored the relation of wages to output, and he deliberately refused to consider in fixing wages the rates which the industry could bear. In 1907, after most elaborate investigation, he fixed the minimum which should be paid to the unskilled worker at 7s. per day. If an industry could not pay this, it should not exist, a doctrine which may be applied successfully to one or

two badly-paid industries, but which, when the whole industrial field is being covered, raises an apparently insoluble problem." [1]

Yet, despite the conclusion of Judge Higgins' career as head of the Federal Court, he had, six years earlier, laid down several important principles or methods regarding the complex industrial and economic condition. These statements, although numerous and full, deserve inclusion. Among the thirty-three principles, or methods, which he outlines, the following, however, are the more important for our purpose:

1. One cannot conceive of industrial peace unless the employee has secured to him wages sufficient for the essentials of human existence.

2. This, the basic wage, must secure to the employee enough wherewith to renew his strength and to maintain his home from day to day.

3. The basic wage is the same for the employee with no family as for the employee with a large family. It rests on Walt Whitman's "divine average," and the employer need not concern himself with his employee's domestic affairs.

4. The secondary wage is remuneration for any exceptional gifts or qualifications, not of the indi-

[1] "The New Statesman" (London), Vol. XVII, April 30, 1921, p. 97.

vidual employee, but gifts or qualifications necessary for the performance of the functions, e. g., skill as a tradesman, exceptional heart and physique, as in the case of a gas stoker, exceptional muscular training and power, as in the case of a shearer, exceptional responsibility, e. g., for human life, as in the case of winding or locomotive engine-drivers.

5. The secondary wage, as far as possible, preserves the old margin between the unskilled laborer and the employee of the skilled or exceptional class.

6. After ascertaining the proper wages, basic and secondary, the Court considers any evidence adduced to show that the employers ought not to be asked to pay such wages. It will consider grounds of finance, of competition with imports, of unfairness to other workers, of undue increase in prices of the product, of injury to the public, etc.

7. The wages cannot be allowed to depend on the profits made by the individual employer, but the profits of which the *industry* is capable may be taken into account. If the industry is novel, and those who undertake it have to proceed economically, there may be a good cause for keeping down wages, but not below the basic wage, which must be sacrosanct. Above the basic wage, bargaining of the skilled employee may, with caution, be allowed to operate.

8. The fact that a mine is becoming exhausted

or poorer in its ores is not a ground for prescribing a lower rate than would otherwise be proper. If shareholders are willing to stake their own money on a speculation, they should not stake part of the employee's proper wages also. The Court cannot endanger industrial peace in order to keep unprofitable mines going.

9. The Court does not increase the minimum on the ground of affluence of the employer. It is not affected by the fact that one of the employers can, by skillful management, by enterprise, or by good fortune, make very large profits.

10. The minimum rate must be based on the highest function that the employee may be called on to exercise. The employer must not give a plumber laborer's work and pay him laborer's wages if he has to do plumbing.

11. In finding the proper minimum rate, the Court tries to find what would be proper for an employee of average capacity called upon to do work of the class required. If the employer desires to secure the services of an exceptional workman, he is free to do so. The payment of higher rates is left to the play of bargaining.

12. The Court does not attempt to discriminate in wages on the ground of comparative laboriousness.

Discrimination on such a ground is neither safe nor sound. The Court declines to give an extra rate to hodmen if they carry beyond a certain height.

13. The Court accepts and follows the usual practice of making rates for casual employment higher than the corresponding rates for continuous employment.

14. The Court, in obedience to the Act, provides exceptions to the minimum rate in the case of aged, slow or infirm workers, but the exceptional cases must be disclosed to the representative of the Union, and be well safeguarded.

15. But the Court will not provide exceptions to the minimum rate for "improvers", men paid more than journeymen, men who are used to beat down the claims of competent journeymen, and are thus a perpetual menace to the peace of the community.

16. The Court regards the old system of apprenticeship as unsuitable for factories under modern conditions, and it objects to fixing a rigid proportion of apprentices to journeymen without regard to circumstances, e. g., the character of the output of each factory. But if conditions of apprenticeship are in dispute, the Court will, especially if both sides wish it, and for the sake of peace as well as efficiency, make regulations on the subject. The

proper method, however, seems to be in boot-factories, to coördinate the work of the factories with the work of the technical schools.

17. The Court will not prescribe extra wages to compensate for unnecessary risks to the life or health of the employee or unnecessary dirt. No employer is entitled to purchase by wages the right to endanger life or to treat men as pigs.

18. The principle of the living wage has been applied to women, but with a difference, as women are not usually legally responsible for the maintenance of a family. A woman's minimum is based on the average cost of her own living to one who supports herself by her own exertions. A woman or a girl with a comfortable home cannot be left to underbid in wages other women or girls who are less fortunate.

19. But in an occupation in which men as well as women are employed, the minimum is based on a man's cost of living. If the occupation is that of a blacksmith, the minimum is a man's minimum; if the occupation is that of a milliner, the minimum is a woman's minimum; if the occupation is that of fruit-picking, as both men and women are employed, the minimum must be a man's minimum.[1]

[1] "Harvard Law Review," Vol. XXIX, No. 1, Nov. 1915. "A New Province for Law and Order," by Henry Bournes Higgins. pp. 18-20.

These principles, which are outlined with succinctness by Chief Justice Higgins, form the best possible summary of procedures throughout the States, procedures which, if failing in many cases, do represent the ideal toward which administrative justice aims.

The question might be asked, what is the natural result of the working of conciliation and of other arbitration forces in Australia? Have strikes come to an end in this land of experimentation? It is clear that they have not, and it is clear that the outlook for their coming to an end is not bright. President Brown has said:

"A lockout or a strike is an antiquated method of settling industrial disputes, is costly to the community, and involves a substitution of force in the place of an appeal to reason and justice. As I have already suggested, economic, like civil relations, have to pass through three stages. In the first stage, the person wronged must take the chance of being able to redress the wrong by appeal to force. In the second stage, tribunals of conciliation are instituted, and these, while undoubtedly saving much injustice, are still quite inadequate. In the third stage, the settlement of disputes, industrial no less than civil, must be according to law. I do not say that strikes in the past have not fulfilled useful

functions; nor do I say that even to-day at a particular moment in a particular industry the workers may not on occasion get more easily what they want by a strike than by law. But, looking at the interests of the employees as a whole, and in the long run (to say nothing of the interests of the employers and of society), it has yet to be realized in Australia how greatly those interests depend upon loyalty to the reign of law as distinct from the dominance of unregulated force. Employees who resort to force bring contumely on the whole system of industrial arbitration. They alienate that general public sympathy which has hitherto contributed towards the legislative redress of grievances or ill conditions under which the workers have suffered. They besmirch the whole class of wage-earners. They are false not only to the common good, but in the long run to those very interests which they profess to champion. In any particular case, each employee and employer should not only consider . . . the welfare of the class to which he belongs, and that welfare in the long run, and he must again consider society. If he neglects to do so, and resorts to force in derision of the law, he is not only a disloyal citizen: he betrays the real and abiding interests of his class and of society. *His betrayal is none the less dangerous*

because he may be acting by what he believes to be good motives, or because he does evil in the hope of good to come.

Notwithstanding what I have just said, the public control of industrial conditions, although it has gone far to supersede the strike and the lockout in South Australia—a result for which much is due to the efforts and tact of Trade Union secretaries—has not been successful as a strike preventive in Australia generally." [1]

To the interpretation thus given by Judge Jethro Brown of Adelaide, I want to add an interpretation, given about twenty years previously, by the President of the Arbitration Court of New Zealand. The President says:

" 'I was President of the Industrial Arbitration Court from the time the act (New Zealand Industrial Arbitration Act) was brought into operation until April last, 1898, and have had some experience of its working. . . .

One good thing the act does is to prevent bitter feeling arising. The moment there is a difference, the intervention of the Conciliation Board is in-

[1] "Australia—Economic and Political Studies," edited by Meredith Atkinson. "Regulation of Industrial Conditions," by President Jethro Brown. pp. 213-215.

voked, and, instead of quarreling among themselves and making a settlement every day more difficult, each lays his case before a third party.

Unless you interfere the moment a difference arises, you must wait until both parties are sick of fighting. The futility of interference in the middle of a quarrel is explained by Rabelais in one of his cleanest and most amusing chapters. In nearly every case that came before the court I was struck with the good temper displayed by all parties.

Another benefit of the act is that the hearing of the case before the Conciliation Board and before the court enables the public to form an intelligent opinion upon the merits. If public opinion supported the judgment of the court, it would be difficult for either side, apart altogether from the question of compulsion, to act in defiance of public opinion.

No doubt the difficulty of the act lies in the clauses which impose a penalty for a breach of the award. It has been justly said that you cannot compel a workman to work or an employer to carry on his business under conditions which are intolerable to either. But the duty of the Arbitration Court is to pronounce such an award as will enable the particular trade to be carried on, and not to impose such conditions as would make it better for the employer to close his works or for the workmen to cease work-

ing than to conform to them. The object of the act is to secure industrial peace, and not to create industrial strife." [1]

The President adds that "In four or five years we shall be able to speak with more certainty." The four or five years have passed, and indeed three times four or five years. It must be confessed that the results are not what he anticipated. The results, too, which Henry Demarest Lloyd pointed out in a notable volume, and which he summarized in no less than twenty-two points have indeed been sadly set aside.[2] For, not only in New Zealand not a land

[1] See "A Country without Strikes," by Henry Demarest Lloyd, pp. 165-166.

[2] These points are:—

1st. Strikes and lockouts have been stopped.

2d. Wages and terms have been fixed so that manufacturers can make their contracts ahead without fear of disturbance.

3d. Workingmen, too, knowing that their income cannot be cut down nor locked out, can marry, buy land, build homes.

4th. Disputes arise continually, new terms are fixed, but industry goes on without interruption.

5th. No factory has been closed by the act.

6th. The country is more prosperous than ever.

7th. The rewards of the Arbitration Court fix a standard of living which other courts accept in deciding cases affecting workingmen.

8th. Awards made by compulsory arbitration are often renewed by a voluntary agreement when they expire.

9th. Trade-unions are given new rights, and are called upon to admit all competent workingmen in the trade.

without strikes, but it is, as I have already indicated, a land shot through and through with strikes. New Zealand, like Australia, and Australia, like all other parts of the world, seem to be afflicted with industrial sickness of many sorts. Apparently, as I shall presently try to intimate, the disorders in the lands of the South Seas and in all lands are to be cured by medicines other than those distilled from industrial conditions.

A large part of the whole labor movement relates to the trade union organizations. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, these Unions have grown to very large dimensions. In Australia in 1920, they numbered more than six hundred thousand members. But, be it said, that in each of the six States of Australia, many workmen were not enrolled in the unions. In New South Wales, the proportion

10th. Compulsion in the background makes conciliation easier.

11th. Compulsory publicity gives the public, the real arbitrator, all the facts of every dispute.

12th. Salaried classes as well as wage-earners are claiming the benefits of arbitration.

13th. Peaceable settlement with their men has been made possible for the majorities of the employers who wanted to arbitrate, but were prevented by minorities of their associates.

14th. Labor and capital are being organized into trade-unions and associations instead of mobs and monopolists.

15th. Trade honesty is promoted by the exposure and prevention of frauds on the public.

enrolled was 62 per cent.; in Victoria, 56 per cent.; in Queensland, 63 per cent.; in South Australia, 60 per cent.; in West Australia, 48 per cent.; in Tasmania, 36 per cent.; and in the Northern Territory, 47 per cent.[1]

But the primary question goes deeper than any political party or capitalism or unionism. It presents the question of what can be done to promote the happiness or proper relationship between the two wings of the one human body, capital and labor. The settlement is attended by peculiar difficulties. One difficulty is found in the weakness of the press specifically devoted to the cause of labor in Australia and in New Zealand.

16th. Humane and law-abiding business men seek the protection of the law to save themselves from destruction by the competition of inhumane and law-breaking rivals.

17th. The weak and the strong are equalized both among capitalists and the workingmen.

18th. The victory is given as nearly as possible to the right instead of to the strong, as in war.

19th. The concentration of wealth and power are checked.

20th. The distribution of wealth is determined along lines of reason, justice, and the greatest need, instead of along lines of the greatest greed.

21st. Democracy is strengthened by these equalizations.

22d. It furnishes the people their only cheap, speedy, and untechnical justice.—"A Country Without Strikes." By Henry Demarest Lloyd. pp. 178-180.

1 Australian Statistics, 1921, prepared by the Commonwealth Statistician under instructions from the Minister of State for Home and Territories. p. 115.

"The tone and outlook of its principal periodicals are intensely prejudiced, while their actual misrepresentations in making out a case equal those familiar enough in party journalism. The Labor Press generally wielded but little influence before the Conscription Referendum. With that came its opportunity, and it used it very effectively. The same bitter and aggressive spirit which marked its conduct of that campaign is still at work fomenting all causes of industrial unrest and political agitation. It seldom contains any articles marked by deep thought or of an educational character. It is devoted almost exclusively to operating upon the minds of the workers as an irritant, so as to intensify bitter class consciousness. The tone of its personal allusions is generally vindictive." [1]

A second condition interrupting settlement lies in a condition similar to that which the labor press represents. It is found in a lack of a proper number of men and women, of reasonableness and of long and large vision, in the labor ranks. Of course this condition is almost inevitable. Labor works by mass action. It has apparently little concern for the individual. There is no shading in its methods, and there are no degrees in its conclusions. Right is all

[1] Australia, "Economic and Political Studies," edited by Meredith Atkinson. The *Australian Outlook*, by Professor Atkinson. pp. 31-2.

right, wrong is all wrong. It does not represent conciliation or compromise. It has little appreciation of the methods by which democratic society reaches its conclusions. It believes in direct action.

But, despite these difficulties, labor and capital, as great human forces, must come into harmonious coöperation. This is a necessary method and inevitable conclusion for the up-building of the race. If civilization is to continue and to progress, these two fundamental forces are to coöperate.

The basis of adjustment and settlement, I believe, is not to be economic. The cure is to come from forces working in zones other than economic. The basis may still further embody that passing of society which Sir Henry Maine calls "a movement from status to contract." It may indeed characterize a society which is dynamic and not static. New potencies are to be brought into the life of men in order to cause them to live a life harmonious and worthy. Coöperation, profit-sharing, partnership of the employer and the employee, embody methods which are both moral and financial. But the moral element is the more important.

The first element in all adjustment is the element of good will. The settlement of difficulties and industrial peace can be secured by good will on the part of both the employer and of the employee. The

employer should respect the employee as a human being, not looking on him as a mere tool or machine. The employee, in turn, should respect the employer as a human being, as one having the sympathies, the limitations, the aspirations, the sorrows and the joys that belong to man. The employer should also lay aside certain compelling and explicit rules to which he demands full obedience on the part of his employee. The employee, moreover, should be willing to eliminate certain rules or methods which are not economically sound and just. The limited output, for instance, is the rule of the union. It should be cast out from the industrial code. Leveling down, rather than leveling up, seems to be a process or method of the union. Such a method is against the good of humanity. Determination of the industrial wage by the least efficient worker, and not by the most, seems to be a rule of the union. Such a generality of procedure is a bad economic law. All these and similar rules are waves which move against the great human economic tides. The impression, moreover, prevailing among the unions, that lessened work by one member means more work for a greater number of members, however false as an economic notion, is commonly held. The old wage theory, as applied to labor, is as false in labor circles as it is at the counters of finance. Compre-

hensively, therefore, good will toward all men, from all men, in the industrial world will help to give peace in that world.

But such good will is not a matter of mere willing. It is the result of education. Education stands for the development of humanity. It stands for human unity. It stands for sound thinking. It stands for reason and for reasonableness. Reason and reasonableness, exercised, create good will applied. Reasonableness is the highest, deepest, broadest element in education. It is the educational cube. Reasoning will not simply help to blot out sins, as the old scripture intimates, but reasoning will help to do away with the possibility of social sinning through the promotion of individual and social good will. A better education of the people of Australia and New Zealand will aid, above every other force, in lessening the industrial and social unrest of these island-continents.

To the worth of the coöperative conditions and of education, however, as methods and means of promoting industrial peace, is to be added a force yet more forceful and more general. It is the force, or condition, which is called humanity, or humanization. The industrial condition of strife has become so serious and so common that a remedy also constitutional is to be applied. Humanization includes

at least a love for the truth and the will to find it. Included in truth and its search is moral fairness and a sense of justice. Akin to such a service is the spirit of helpfulness. Mechanical invention will do much to remove the quarrelsomeness of the industrial mood, as in the substitution of machinery for labor, as is seen in a specific instance, in the replacing of coal by oil on ocean steamships. Other mechanical forces will aid in making proper adjustments. But stronger emphasis is ever to be placed on the human side of industry. The laborer is ever to be treated, and must be treated, in either one of two ways. He is to be treated more and more as a machine, in which case he naturally and inevitably sinks and falls. Or he is to be treated more and more as a man, in which case he rises into a higher station. Under Anglo-Saxon conditions, the choice is inevitable.

The lesson of this long survey and detailed interpretation of industrial conditions in the Southern hemisphere, for those who live in the Northern, is pregnant with at least a few suggestions. In such a comparative survey, full value is indeed to be given to differences in social and industrial conditions. That the Australasian condition, in point of race, is British, and that the American is mixed; that the supply of labor in islands five thousand miles from

the nearest white neighbor is more or less limited, and that the supply of labor in the United States is fairly unlimited; that furthermore, the Australasian condition seldom comes to bloodshed, and that the American is less often free from violence:—these, and other, divisions, are to be fully appreciated and realized. Yet, making due allowance for differences, racial, industrial, geographical, at least two inferences are inevitable.

The first inference is that the installation of labor as a political party does not result in industrial peace. On the face, it is plain that the domination of a representative democratic government by one class of its citizens is neither representative nor democratic. The formation of a political party, made up of manual workers only, as of railroad men or of farmers, will not be suffered. The American community will not permanently endure such oligarchic usurpation. Any "bloc" will not long endure. But, if such a labor party were to succeed in either America or England, it would not be able to avoid or settle industrial strife. The dominance of the labor governments in Australia and New Zealand has at least not prevented—and some would say that such governments have rather promoted—industrial antagonisms.

A second inference is that Conciliation Boards and

Arbitration Courts do not insure permanent industrial peace. One cannot pronounce them a failure in Australia or New Zealand, but one can affirm that they are still in a state of experimentation. They give no such promise of a heaven for workmen and employers as, a score of years ago, they seemed to hold out. "The Land Without Strikes," has sunk into a sea of industrial tempests and wreckage.

In America, attempts are made, in honesty, and in a large humanitarian spirit, with legal knowledge and acumen, free from class and personal prejudices, so far as prejudices can be eliminated from human affairs,—to use such means and methods as have been used in the Southern hemisphere. Perhaps the most outstanding of such attempts are those made in the State of Kansas. The evidences regarding the value of these attempts are not unanimous. Certain evidences seem to show that the Court of Industrial Relations of Kansas has rendered valuable service. Other testimony, equally valid, denies the value of such service. It has been said that the Court has prevented strikes. It has also been said that it has not prevented strikes. It has been said that it has adjusted differences in opinion and practical disagreement. Other testimony affirms that it has promoted both disagreements and differences. It has been said that the Court has saved workers and em-

ployers much money. It has also been said that the Court has quickened extravagance. It has been affirmed that the Court has protected the people. It has also been affirmed that it has damaged the public. Social justice has been fostered, social injustice has been nurtured—are two opposite statements affirmed with equal emphasis. Social unrest has been promoted, social unrest has been quieted—have likewise been affirmed. In fact, the experience of Australia and New Zealand is repeated in at least one American Commonwealth. Under such a divisive principle, the need of the humanizing of employment, the need of the deeper sympathy between employers and employees, has been made yet more, and most, emphatic.

In closing this chapter, it may be added that the labor movement of the United States is characterized by at least one form of wisdom: it is not at present seeking to narrow itself into a political organization. Such an endeavor would eliminate many large-minded and large-hearted friends of the labor cause. Such friends do not fail to recognize the just claims of labor and to appreciate the conditions of workmen; yet they are keenly aware that to limit the functions of government to a single class of citizens is pregnant with possibilities, and even probabilities, of the ultimate over-throw of democracy and of the institutions of democracy.

IV

THE HIGHER, AND OTHER, EDUCATION

The English race, placed in its original island, has not regarded education as one of its primary interests. In the last fifty years, in fact ever since the passing of Forster's great Bill in 1870, the interest has been more adequate than in any preceding half-century. Yet the interest has been found really inadequate, needing constant quickening. This lack of interest has been transferred to the island-continents and to all colonies. Australia and New Zealand are examples. "The lively interest and keen pride in their schools, shown by American cities and country districts, is quite absent in the Australian States." [1] But, be it added, though American cities and country districts do take pride, yet the results are not commensurate. That twenty-five per cent. of the men enlisting in the American army in the World War were illiterate proves that the reason for the pride is not so great as is commonly believed.

[1] Australia—Economic and Political Studies. "Education," by Alexander Mackie, Professor of Education and Principal of the Teachers' Training College in the University of Sydney, p. 262.

The educational system of Australia is as completely a governmental system as exists anywhere. It is also a centralized system, centralized in the individual State. The Commonwealth takes no formal responsibility. In this relation of the State and the Federal Government, the American method prevails. In every State is a Minister of Public Instruction. The teachers are technically enrolled as civil servants. Appointments are made by the central authority. Stipends are paid out of the State funds. There is little or no local control, although advice may be asked for and freely given. All schools, at least the primary, are free, compulsory, and, in point of religious belief, undenominational. The same principles and methods prevail in all States. A likeness in the character of population results in identity of forces and educational conditions. In New Zealand, be it added, the English method, or a combination of the local and central authorities in educational administration, prevails.

The advantages and disadvantages of such a centrally controlled system are obvious. Among the advantages, as interpreted by a most competent authority, are: "School facilities are probably more uniformly distributed throughout the State. It is unlikely that under local control education in the

more thinly peopled parts would have been as well cared for. In the United States of America education in rural districts is markedly inferior both in quality and quantity as compared with urban centers. There is greater equality of educational opportunity in the different parts of an Australian State. . . . Changes in the design of school buildings, in equipment, curriculum and method can be more rapidly carried out when once determined on by the central authority, since there are no local councils to be coerced or persuaded. The adaptability of the teaching staff alone limits the spread of new subjects and methods, and this can be in great part secured by special courses of instruction." [1]

Among the disadvantages of such a system are: "There is a distinct loss in public interest, since the local communities are given no share in school administration. It is probably for this reason that public opinion on educational questions is almost nonexistent. . . . A progressive town or district cannot provide for its children a better education. It must wait till the central department makes a general forward move. . . . An undesirable uniformity is apt to be fostered, and the few opportunities allowed to teachers and officials for travel abroad accentuates this tendency. . . . Public opinion on education is

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 261-2.

neither energetic nor well informed. During the period of the war opinion in England was very strongly aroused on the need for changes in the school system. In Australia nothing of the sort has occurred. The public are satisfied with the frequently expressed opinion of Ministers of Education that the school system is the best in the world. The reconstruction of the past ten years has been mainly due to the initiative and energy of far-seeing Directors of Education, and their task has been the harder since they have not been able to rely on the support of an energetic public opinion." [1]

In Australian education, as in the education of most countries, three stages, and possibly four, are maintained: the primary, lasting up to the age of twelve years; the secondary, or high school, running from twelve up to eighteen; the third, or higher, running from eighteen to the age of twenty-one or twenty-two; and possibly a fourth stage, the professional. The fourth stage, however, usually synchronizes, or is in content somewhat identical with, the third. Professional training has not yet secured the distinct place, which it has gained in the United States in the last generation, as an addition to the liberal education. This remark, however, is less applicable to the clerical calling than to the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 262–263.

other professions. But the tendency toward adopting the American system, of prolongation, is strong. The best minds recognize its necessity, or at least its desirability.

Evidences warrant the conclusion that education improves in quality as it is made longer in time and larger in quantity. The higher and later stages are superior to the lower and the earlier. It improves as it proceeds. It gathers strength, like the brook, as it goes on. The university education is superior to the secondary, and the secondary to the primary. The primary is, of course, more general. Every Australasian man and woman can read and write. But, for most, the educational process ends with the elements. The contrast with the citizens of the United States, be it added, is emphatically in favor of the educational condition of the people of the Southern lands. It was proved that almost one in four of the men enlisting in the United States army for the World War, as I already have intimated, could neither read nor write English. Practically every citizen of Australia can, and does, read and write English. It may be added, however, in justice, that the professional attainments of the best graduates of the professional schools in the United States are superior to the attainments of the best graduates of similar schools in Australia.

This interpretation takes on a meaning yet more significant when the cost for each pupil in the schools of the two nations is considered. For the inference is allowable, though not inevitable, that the higher the cost of education, the better it is; and that the better education becomes, the higher the cost mounts. In Australia, the expenditure for each pupil, for the year 1914 practically a pre-war year, was as follows:

New South Wales ..	£10	1	2	($50.29) [1]
Victoria	7	6	3	($36.56)
Queensland	6	15	9	($33.93)
South Australia	6	14	6	($33.62)
Western Australia ..	8	10	0	($42.50)
Tasmania	5	11	1	($27.77)

In contrast, the cost for each pupil in certain cities of the United States, for the year preceding the war outbreak, was as follows:

Cleveland	£12	10	9	($62.68) [1]
Boston	14	3	10	($70.95)
St. Louis	13	3	7	($65.89)
Los Angeles	16	18	7	($84.64)
Washington	13	1	0	($65.25)
Pittsburgh	14	16	3	($74.06)

[1] Australia—Economic and Political Studies. "Education," by Alexander Mackie, p. 238. ($5 to the pound sterling.)

The most typical part of public education in Australia is undoubtedly the high school. The course covers four years, beginning not later than the age of fourteen, and with the abler pupils at the age of twelve. The possibly earlier age has given reason for the making of a high school course covering five rather than four years. In fact, intimations are found of adopting a method of a six-year course, running from the age of twelve to the age of eighteen. If, in this longer period, a division should be necessary, it would naturally occur at the age of sixteen. The work of the last two years is made more or less special. The problems of the high school in Australia are similar to the problems of the high school in America. The loyalty of the two peoples to this type of education is quite similar.

There are two somewhat unique features in public education. Both concern the people of the "back blocks." One is the traveling clinic. This hygienic and medical force, both personal and material, moves through the country districts of certain States. It is directed chiefly to the care of the teeth and of the eyes of children, older and younger. The second element is the system of education by correspondence, which is found in at least two States, South Australia and Tasmania. The American State University has introduced education by cor-

respondence for mature students. Australia has applied this system to young boys and girls. The need is urgent, even if the need is limited to a small number. For families living in the "back blocks," remote from each other, cannot muster a sufficient number of pupils to justify the establishment of a central school. But, from the controlling educational office in Adelaide or Hobart, education is directed. The methods, as I have examined them, seem wise, and the results notably adequate. A supplementary advantage lies in the connection which is thus maintained between the segregated, lonely families of the "Never-Never" land and the community life of cities.

In Australia and New Zealand, as in most English-speaking countries, private schools are maintained side by side with the public. Some of these schools have special religious, or church, affiliations. Others are free from such influences and connections. Their place in the life of the people does not enlarge however. But the need of continuing them in Australia, as elsewhere, is evident. For they represent an individuality in method, and a richness of content, which the public schools, supported by public funds, might not be justified in maintaining.

The most urgent and impressive need of Australian and New Zealand education, as of education

throughout the world, is of more, and of better trained, teachers. The ways and means of securing such teachers form one of the most serious and complex of the problems of modern civilization. Increase of salaries does not offer the only method of solution. Increase of salaries might give a certain amount of aid. In New South Wales, in the year 1920, the minimum stipend paid to adult teachers was £132 ($660), and it was under consideration to increase this sum to £156 ($780). It was felt, however, that the need of paying better salaries to the middle and upper grade teachers was far greater, especially to those of long service. To this end a Superannuation Act was passed, which came into effect at the close of the war.[1]

But, more important than the pecuniary element, is the element of dignity in the calling and of the respect paid its members by the general community. Teaching is a profession with the rights and obligations of a profession. The teacher, like the clergyman and the soldier, is a consecrated vessel. The stipend should never be so large—and the peril is zero—as to become the object of avaricious struggle. But it should be large enough to give a decent livelihood. In not a few cases, it is not large enough to give a decent livelihood for to-day and to meet to-

[1] *Ibid.* p. 257.

morrow's expectations. If to this fitting increase of income should be added the element of public respect and of dignity, the supply of teachers in Australia and New Zealand, as in all parts, would be vastly enlarged.

I have just said that the further education is continued, the more worthy it becomes. The best part of the whole educational system in Australia and New Zealand is therefore found in the universities. The universities of Australia are British. They are British in their origin, legal; British in their conditions, political and social; British in their primary influences derived from and exerted upon civilization. The members of the teaching and research staffs bear the degrees of Oxford and Cambridge, of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and of the Midlands Universities as well as of the home institutions. The constituency, whence students are drawn, is also British. In a recent census, more than eighty-two per cent. were Australian born, and more than thirteen per cent. were natives of the United Kingdom. More than ninety-five per cent. represent British extraction.

In such a racial and social condition flourish the six universities. Three of the six are the University of Sydney—founded in 1850, a year before the inrush of the gold seekers;—the University of Mel-

bourne—founded in 1853, in the midst of the gold excitement;—the University of Adelaide—founded in 1874. These three universities bear the name of, as well as are established in, the capital of each of their respective States, of New South Wales, of Victoria, and of South Australia. The three remaining universities are established in the respective capitals of their States, and each bears the name of the State itself. The University of Tasmania at Hobart was founded in 1890. The University of Queensland, situated at Brisbane, and the University of Western Australia, at Perth, were each founded in the year 1911.

These universities are designed to serve, primarily, small populations. Their service is largely, though by no means entirely, limited to the people of the State in the capital in which they are placed. Sydney, by the census of 1919, had a population of 800,000, and the State of New South Wales, a population of over 1,800,000; the City of Melbourne, a population of over 700,000, and the State of Victoria, over 1,400,000; the City of Adelaide, a population of about 225,000, and its State of South Australia not quite 450,000; Brisbane, about 175,000, and the State of Queensland, about 690,000; Perth, 130,000, and its State, Western Australia, 310,000;

Hobart, over 40,000, and the State, Tasmania, over 200,000.

These universities are separated, each from the other, by long distances. Beginning with the most northerly of the Universities, Queensland, Brisbane is 725 miles from Sydney; Sydney is 582 miles from Melbourne; Melbourne 483 miles from Adelaide, and Adelaide 1,217 miles from Perth. These four universities occupy perhaps one-third of a circle, this third covering more than 3,000 miles of distance. The University of Tasmania at Hobart lies outside of the curve, being about five hundred miles south of Melbourne.

These six universities are emphatically State universities. They do not belong to the Commonwealth of Australia. Federal education in Australia is unrecognized, as it is in the United States. As a State function, the higher education receives the larger share of its support from the Treasury of the State in which the university is situated. Under the general State control, the immediate government is entrusted to certain specific bodies which bear different names and exercise somewhat different functions in the several States.

The similarities and differences of the universities obtain also in the financial field. In a recent year,

the contributions of the respective States to the universities were as follows:

In 1917, the University of Sydney received from the government of New South Wales over $300,000; the University of Melbourne from the government of Victoria, $135,000; the University of Adelaide from the government of South Australia nearly $65,000; the University of Tasmania from the State, $35,000; the University of Queensland from its State over $75,000; and the University of Western Australia, $65,000. In addition to the grants made by the State, the universities have received private benefactions. Sydney has an endowment of $2,500,000 —an endowment that has recently received large additions. The University of Melbourne has received benefactions to the amount of over $900,000, and the University of Adelaide practically to the same amount. The University of Tasmania has an insignificant endowment, while the University of Western Australia is the recipient of an endowment of one Chair, and an additional benefaction of about four thousand acres of land. The University of Queensland has received but a few thousand pounds and for specified purposes.

From these and other incomes the universities expended amounts that differ in equal degree. The annual expenditures, of the University of Sydney

amount to nearly $860,000; of Melbourne, to about $390,000; of Adelaide to over $140,000; of the University of Tasmania, to nearly $40,000; of Queensland, to about $110,000; of Western Australia, to over $85,000.

Small are these sums, compared to the amounts of income and expenditure of American Universities; but it is ever to be borne in mind that the population served is also small.

The students' fees, paid directly to the universities, are not in amount unlike those paid by the American student. Taking the University of Sydney as a type they are as follows:[1]

Arts	$226.00
Education (Diploma Course)	93.75
Economics and Commerce	226.00
Economics (Diplomatic Course)	99.50
[2] Law	183.25 (1st & 2nd yrs.) 365.00 (3rd, 4th, & 5th yrs.)
Medicine	816.00

[1] The Universities of Australia, Table of Fees and Cost of Graduation, p. 27.

Certain facts and interpretations of these paragraphs are found also in the author's "Higher Education in Australia and New Zealand." U. S. Bureau of Education, 1922.

[2] The 1st and 2nd years are in the department of Arts.

Dentistry	774.00
Science	355.00
Agriculture	418.75
Veterinary Science	403.00
Engineering:	
Civil	627.00
Mining and Metallurgy	627.00
Mechanical and Electrical	579.75
Architecture	627.00

These figures cover the fees for the total number of years required to complete the courses, including both matriculation and graduation fees.

The salaries of professors, differing in different universities, are not unlike the American level. Five thousand dollars would represent the higher standard, and half this sum, the lower. The university being a government institution, a pension is allowed professors at or near the age of sixty-five. This pension, too, differs in different cases, and under different circumstances. It seldom, however, would represent more than half the normal stipend.

Into a formal statement of the studies leading to the Baccalaureate or professional degrees, I shall not enter. These studies embody the British tradition, especially of the newer universities. I do, however, make special mention of the courses preparatory to the practice of the law. For the courses in law do

have special significance for a new nation. The curriculum in law is broader and more fundamental than is found in many of the law schools of the United States. Among the chief items are: Modern Political Institutions: (a) British Political Institutions, (b) International Relations and Law, (c) Modern Political Ideas; History and Sources of English and Australian Law: (a) Legal Method (Judicial Precedent, Legislation), (b) The several courts and their history, their jurisdictions, and relations; the characteristics of the administration of justice in each (c) The foundation of the law and the development of the Courts, and of the administration of justice, in Australia; Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia; Jurisprudence, including Roman Law; Private International Law; Administrative Law; the Law of Property in Land and Conveyancing; the Law of Contract and Personal Property; the Law of Wrongs; the Law of Procedure and Evidence; and Equity.[1]

This statement indicates the closeness of the relationship existing between the college of liberal learning and the professional school of law in Australia, and similar conditions and agencies found in America. The similarities are normal. For both

[1] The Melbourne University Calendar, 1919. pp. 506–513.

the Australian and American types of education are based upon the British foundation and are inspired by British ideals. The teaching staffs are also educated under similar conditions. Until the recent war, however, the German ideal and method had a far larger influence in America.

The government of Australian universities is vested in a body corresponding to the body of trustees of the American university, and called either a senate or a council. This body works in coöperation at least as close with the teaching staff, as obtains in the typical university of America. The terms of the election of the governing body differ in the different universities. But the method that prevails in the University of Sydney may be regarded as representative.

The corporate body consists of a Senate, which is made up of "four Fellows appointed by the Governor;

one Fellow elected by the members of the Legislative Council;

one Fellow elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly;

five Fellows to be representative of the teaching staff of the University as follows:—The Chairman of the Professorial Board elected by the Board and four Fellows elected one by each of four Faculties;

ten Fellows elected by graduates of the University; three Fellows elected by the aforesaid Fellows." [1]

The form of government thus made has been criticized as lacking initiative. For certain constituent members, it is said, cannot, or do not, give prolonged thought to university affairs. The interests of scholarship are liable to suffer from a lack of interest on the part of the controlling board. The professorial members of the controlling board are alert and keen in the discussion of ideas and methods in education. But they are charged with being slow in applying educational conclusions. The non-professorial members of a board of control are not so reluctant to apply new educational theories and to adopt new educational systems, but they do lack ability or occasion for thinking out theories, or for considering the worthiness of new educational systems. Such criticisms are akin to those that are made in the United States touching many boards of trustees. They are summed up in the general remark that government by committees or by a large general body, somewhat remote from the concerns that are governed, is liable to prove ineffective. The disadvantages of such a method are notorious, and the

[1] Calendar of the University of Sydney for the year 1920, p. 8.

advantages, although great, are not equal to the disadvantages.[1]

The American university president, an officer of many functions,—in some cases of great influence and little power, in other cases of great power and little influence, and in still other cases of great influence and of great power,—is still unknown in both the Australian and the New Zealand institutions. The typical and best type of the Australasian academic executive represents great influence and little power. It is to be hoped that this type will remain. For autocracy, if at all established, has no valid excuse, except as it co-exists with omniscience.

The larger share of the graduates of the university enter a profession. At least one-half of the graduates of the American college go into business. In certain colleges the percentage is seventy-five. The percentage of Australian students going into business is slight, being about what it was in American colleges fifty years ago. Candidates for the professions, being graduates of the university, enter practice by a diversity of methods. For intending physicians compliance with the requirements of the General Medical Council, following graduation, gives them the right to practice in all parts of the

[1] See "The American University; An Australian View," by Professor E. R. Holme, of the University of Sydney, p. 46.

United Kingdom, as well as in Australia. A similar method obtains for intending lawyers. To practice before the High Court of Australia, or before the Supreme Court of New South Wales, a graduate of the University of Sydney, having obtained the LL.B. degree, has the right to become a solicitor. Besides obtaining his degree, he must serve as an "articled clerk" to a solicitor. At many points, concessions are made to the holder of the LL. B. degree. In the State of Victoria, a Bachelor of Laws of the University of Melbourne, who has had a service of one year "under articles," may be admitted as barrister and solicitor. In South Australia, a similar freedom is granted to students of its university who have the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

Those who propose to become engineers, civil, mechanical, chemical, electrical, find that their entrance to their profession is most effectively secured by the four years of training in a university. The best equipped school of engineering is the Russell School of the University of Sydney. There are also departments, or schools, of engineering in Queensland, at Melbourne, at Adelaide, and at Perth. Most graduates enter the federal Public Works departments. The engineers of Australia, like those of Christchurch in New Zealand, are among the best

trained of all the graduates of Australian universities. They are found in all parts of the world and especially in Java, South America and China.

The Faculty of Arts in the universities also seeks, under diverse forms, to give a professional training to teachers. Of such work, Professor Holme of the University of Sydney, in a pamphlet to which I am greatly indebted, says:

"'Sydney' and 'Melbourne' have Professors of Education who are also heads of the State Training College for Teachers. 'Adelaide' has a State Director of Education on its 'Educational Committee' and gives a 'Diploma in Education' to graduates in Arts and Science who take a prescribed course of professional study and have proper experience of teaching. There is a course in Education at 'Queensland' and every facility is given to teachers to graduate in Arts. 'Western Australia' has a 'Department of Education,' but it is not yet fully organized. Generally speaking, the teaching profession is becoming more important and prosperous than it has ever been. Its closer association with the Universities is a part of this process of improvement. An excellent professional equipment for teaching can now be obtained in Australia and the material rewards of teaching are likely to increase." [1]

[1] "The Universities of Australia," published by authority of

The Australian universities attempt no professional training in Theology. Clergymen and priests are educated in special schools conducted by the churches of the faith which they serve. These schools are, however, at times connected, to a degree, with a university as is seen in Wesley College, or King's College, at Sydney. But affiliation of any kind is especially created in order to avoid embarrassments ecclesiastical and political.

The universities of Australia are civil institutions. They have no relationship to the Christian or other religion, or to religious agencies. The following statement, which is taken from the Act of Incorporation of one of the allied colleges in Sydney, might be accepted as true of the universities themselves. This Act makes provision:

"That no religious catechism or formulary, which is distinctive of any particular denomination, shall be taught, and no attempt shall be made to attach Students to any particular denomination, and that any Student shall be excused from attendance upon religious instruction or religious observances on express declaration that she has conscientious objections thereto." [1]

the Department of Repatriation and Demobilization, Australian Imperial Force, June, 1919, pp. 23–24.

[1] Calendar, 1920, The Women's College within the University of Sydney, p. 3.

In the Act of Incorporation of the University of Adelaide, too, is found the following statement:

"No religious test shall be administered to any person in order to entitle him to be admitted as a student of the said University, or to hold office therein, or to graduate thereat, or to hold any advantage or privilege thereof." [1]

Such prohibitions, however, do not prevent students from organizing into Young Men's Christian Associations, Young Women's Christian Associations, and similar bodies. In general, the religious influences prevailing among the students seem to be less marked and pervasive than are found in the typical universities of America.

The contrast between the people of Australia and the people of New Zealand is well expressed in paragraphs of a recent novel. One of the characters is made to say:

"'We Maorilanders have got a neat little row to hoe; we're prosperous and parochial and well-fed; life is easy for us; there are few ups and downs; but we're islanders, just as you English are islanders, set down in a narrow little country, a narrow ribbon of rugged land lost in the biggest ocean on the globe, and we can't help our touch of insular self-sufficiency, our parochial pride. We are progressive and all that, but

[1] Calendar of the University of Adelaide for the Year, 1920, p. 386.

there's a gentle drowsiness in the air; we don't need to dream dreams; Nature provides us with three meat meals a day; we're not ambitious; we get what we want so easily that we don't want the impossible. We have no rebels, because there is so little to rebel against. Fact is, we're smug.

"But there's something in Australia that makes a man restless, fills him full of impossible desires. Australia is so unformed, so full of mad chances, stretching out for so many thousand miles of possibilities and discoveries. The whole existence of Australia is a gamble on its weather. Australia stakes its life and its fortunes on the gamble of a good season or a bad one. It plays two-up and takes lottery tickets on the drought. The itch of gambling has got into its blood, and Australia gambles with her legislation and the temperance question and socialism just as she gambles on the Cup. If she wants the laws changed, she changes them some fine day, and waits without a qualm to see what happens. And the charm of Australia is that anything might happen.'"[1]

The social and racial differences between New Zealand and Australia are perhaps more manifest than are the differences in the two educational systems of the island-continents, at least in the public school parts of the two systems. But the contrast in the two types of higher education is quite as

[1] "The Australians," by Arthur H. Adams. pp. 29–30.

strongly marked as is the contrast between the social life of New Zealand and the social life of Australia.

The higher education of New Zealand is, unlike the Australian, concentrated, and concentrated in the University of New Zealand and in its four affiliated or constituent colleges. Its history begins as late as the year 1869 with the establishment and endowment of a university by the Province of Otago through its Provincial Council. A year after, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church took upon itself to lay the foundation of another university for New Zealand. Until 1874, these two foundations remained as separate units. In that year, the University of Otago surrendered, or at least put into abeyance, its right to confer degrees, and became affiliated with the University of New Zealand itself. It was, in this consolidation, or absorption, agreed that the University of the State should have for its chief function the conferring of degrees, and that the other institution, or institutions, should give instruction without conferring degrees.

At this time, additions were made to the forces of the higher education. Canterbury College at Christchurch—an English ecclesiastical and educational colony—was founded in 1873. Auckland University College, at the largest city, was founded in 1882, and Victoria College at the capital, Wellington, in

1897.[1] Thus the University of Otago, Canterbury College, the University College at Auckland, and Victoria at Wellington, came to constitute, as teaching forces, the University of New Zealand.

The relation of these four colleges to each other, as well as to the university, and their essential constitutions and the constitution of the university itself, offer an interesting and somewhat unique chapter in academic history.

The government of the university is vested in a Senate. The Senate consists of twenty-four members who are appointed as follows:

(a) Eight elected by the District Courts of Convocation, that is by the graduates.
(b) Eight appointed by the governing bodies of the affiliated Colleges, two by each.
(c) Four appointed by the Professorial Boards of the affiliated Colleges, one by each.
(d) Four appointed by the Governor-in-Council.[2]

The Senate thus formed is the ruling and ultimate power in the foundation. Though not giving instruction, it determines the amount of instruction necessary to be received for obtaining degrees. It controls examinations through appointing examiners.

1 "University Reform in New Zealand," p. 7.
2 "University Reform in New Zealand," p. 17.

It thus exercises complete control ultimately over the scholastic interests of the four affiliated colleges. It cannot be called a federal university. For the colleges are not federated into the one foundation. But the colleges are ultimately governed by the university itself. Yet, in the essential working arrangements of each individual college, the university has no part.

The ordinary management of the four affiliated institutions rests, as has been intimated, not with the Senate of the University, but with the collegiate bodies themselves. This government differs in the four institutions. The University College at Auckland is governed by a Council, consisting of eleven members, serving in office for a term of three years. Nine of these are elected by the graduates of the district, by the members of the Legislature for the district, and by the Governor-in-Council, three being delegated to each body for election. The Mayor of Auckland and the Chairman of the local Board of Education are members of the Council, ex officio.

Victoria College at Wellington is governed also by a Council, consisting of sixteen members. The term of office is three years. Fifteen of these members are elected—three by each body—by the graduates of the District, by members of Legisla-

ture for the district, by the teachers of the Primary Schools in the district, by Education Boards in the district and by the Governor-in-Council. The Professorial Board elects one member. But no professor is eligible for membership in the Council.

Canterbury College at Christchurch is controlled by a Board of Governors, of nineteen members. Of these, six are elected by the graduates of the district, three by members of the Legislature for the district, three by the teachers of Primary Schools in the district, three by School Committees, three by the Governor-in-Council, and one by the Professorial Board. As obtains in Auckland University College and Victoria College, no professor may be elected to the Council.

Otago University, too, is under the government of a council, of twelve members, with a term of office of five years. However, Otago University Council has two life members, who were elected under the original constitution. The election to this body is made as follows: Four by the graduates of the district, six by the Governor-in-Council, two by the Professorial Board. The two members elected by the Professorial Board may be professors, but no other professor is eligible.

By the side of, and in certain relations above, both

in respect to the Council of the individual College and the Senate of the University, stands a body known as the Professorial Board, or Boards. The Professorial Board exercises functions quite akin to those that belong to the faculty of an American university or college. It is concerned with the academic standing of students and with the other administrative work of a college of liberal arts.

Perhaps the most outstanding element in the interpretation of the history or of the present condition of the University of New Zealand relates to the matter of examinations and of degrees. With certain exceptions, the examinations are external, and the degrees are granted upon the basis of such external tests. The Senate appoints examiners for the various subjects specified in the course of study it has drawn up. Usually these examiners are scholars of repute, resident in Great Britain, but in some instances the Senate has deemed it necessary to appoint local men; for example, in the Professional Law Examinations the examiners are for the most part local practicing lawyers. No teacher takes part in these degree examinations. It is the external system. It is true, however, that for pass degrees the practical work in the experimental sciences is judged by the teachers, and thus a very important part of the work of the students in these subjects

never comes under the judgment of the British examiner. [1]

This method is not absolutely unique. But there is only one other outstanding instance known to me. Attempts to remedy what is, by many members of the faculties of New Zealand college, regarded as an evil, have so far failed. The advantages of the system have been noted as:

(1) The method is unbiased, has always the same form, and is uninfluenced by personality.

(2) The state of efficiency is kept up and the teaching is quickened.

(3) The worth of the degree is enhanced and the status of the University is enlarged.

(4) While it is recognized that the system has its disadvantages, it is also affirmed that the peculiar conditions make it necessary to continue it. [2]

The objections to this system of external examinations are, by most judges, regarded as more weighty than the advantages. The disadvantages have been put under seven heads:

(1) The system deprives the teacher of the dignity which properly belongs to his profession. He is re-

[1] "University Reform in New Zealand," pp. 73–74.
[2] "University Reform in New Zealand," pp. 80–82.

garded by the students as an inferior person, under the rule of the examiner. The students resent the introduction of any course, or of any matter, which does not directly fit them for the examinations. It also affects the choice of teachers by the students, that teacher being most in favor who is willing to be what is known as "an examination hack."

(2) It incites the student to "cram" for examinations. He finds that by heeding the syllabus, and by the study of old examination papers and of textbooks written by the examiner, it is easier for him to pass final tests. The aim to make a good appearance moves him to a greater degree than any enthusiasm for liberal learning or a broad education.

(3) It serves to lessen, in the minds of the student, the value of practical work. In the experimental sciences, the laboratory plays an important part. But, under the system of the external examinations, every candidate for a pass degree presents a certificate from his teacher, stating that he has acceptably completed a laboratory course. For Honors, in place of the certificate, sometimes a thesis is required, which may be a theoretical one and therefore may by no means indicate skill in practical work. But of the difference in the character of the practical work done by an honor student and by the student at the bottom of the class, the British examiner knows nothing. The tendency, therefore, on the part of both student and teacher, is to place little emphasis on laboratory courses.

(4) It serves to weaken the initiative and individuality of the teacher and the student. The very fact that the system produces uniformity is a stigma. It lays too great emphasis on a single method only. It tends to mechanical work. Instruction and research lack quickening and inspiration. In preparation for external examinations, intellectual curiosity is dulled. Originality and individuality are made unpopular. For such qualities tend to lead one out of the safe environments of the syllabus, provided by the Senate, and on the basis of which the student's intellectual fate is sealed. Experience had taught the student that to do work outside of this syllabus is fraught with disaster. Science is regarded by him as a certain number of facts to be memorized for the time being only, not as a training toward lasting intellectual power and scientific acumen. His study comes to have for its purpose the passing of the final test, and consists chiefly of that subject matter which ultimately will bring him to that desired goal.

(5) The answers to a few questions, offered by the examiner, are not considered a fair indication of the real worth of work which, perhaps, has covered years of study. This consideration especially obtains in the case of the student of science. If, moreover, he is prevented from taking examinations, a whole year of time is lost.

(6) The influence of the system of external examination touches, too, the responsibility of the Council

in making appointments. The worth of a member of the College staff is liable to be judged by his capacity to get men through their examinations, rather than by any special ability, he may have, or by any enthusiasm for his work he may possess. The people in New Zealand feel that, while other countries try to remove any impression that the teaching is less important than examinations, the system prevailing in their country serves to put the emphasis on the examinations.

(7) The system lessens the rank, and the influence, of the University. It tends to create a lack of confidence in the institution which, for itself, suffers a loss of respect. It intimates a distrust of the ability or of the fairness of teachers.[1]

All attempts, and they have been several and serious, however, made to get rid of the external system of examinations have so far proved futile. For the weight of argument does not always determine conclusions, in even academic balances! Yet, despite limitations, the University of New Zealand and its Colleges continue to give to the Dominion that formative education which the Universities of Scotland, of England, and of United States, give to the older peoples. The achievements of fifty years,—a short period in academic history,—in both collegiate and professional relations, have proved to be as

[1] "University Reform in New Zealand," pp. 83–88.

great, under all the conditions, as have been won in any population of similar size in any part of the world.

There are at least three elements, or parts, of civilization in Australasia upon which most citizens are in agreement: one is the duty and right of keeping their civilization white; one is the high function which sports play in this civilization; and one, the third, is the noble place to be given to education. White civilization represents a primary and fundamental condition. Cricket, tennis, football, golf, and other sports, play important parts in the islands of the South, as they do in the islands of the North, Sea. Education is recognized as both a condition and a force, a method and a result, foremost in civilization. In respect to labor and capital, citizens are found in opposing camps. In respect to religion, they are divided and subdivided. In respect to politics, antagonisms prevail, as they properly do in most democracies. In respect to the place of government, and the relationship of communal and individual enterprises, opinions differ. But in respect to education, all citizens judge alike, feel in sympathy, and work in coöperation. Differ they may in regard to the emphasis to be put upon different types of education, industrial or classical, linguistic or economic. But on the general theme

of the primary place of education is found only agreement. It is therefore for the people of Australia and of New Zealand still further to promote this element in their great States. This element represents an education pure, free from all disintegrating forces and prejudices. In Germany, education was, for more than a generation, united with commercialism, and both commercialism and education finally failed. In Australasia, education is to possess intrinsic value based on the general worth of man. In respect to trade or profession it has a place, but that place is to be made second and secondary. In respect to the higher and the highest element,—the development of the finest race,—education, and especially the higher education, is to be maintained as a fundamental aim, condition, method, force.

In the interpretation of education are found several problems, especially relating to the Australian and the New Zealand Universities.

One of the more urgent of these problems concerns the age most fitting, and the training necessary, for the student to enter to best advantage upon his professional studies. For admission to the ablest professional schools in the United States, either three or four years of liberal education are requisite. The age of beginning professional studies is there-

fore between twenty-two and twenty-three years. In Australia and New Zealand, however, many students enter upon their professional course immediately upon their graduation at the high, or similar, school, and at the age of eighteen. The age of eighteen, in the judgment of many educationalists, of Australasia as well as of America, is altogether too early. The student of eighteen is still a boy or a girl. His intellectual processes are juvenile. He lacks maturity in character, as well as in understanding. He does not know himself in respect to his permanent desires, defects, abilities. He has not come to himself. He has not experienced the intellectual new birth, a change which is as real as are the changes of physical adolescence.

But, though the advanced age is necessary for securing the richest results in professional preparation, it is also true that, the properly advanced age at the beginning of the career causes a too advanced age at the end of the professional education. The age, therefore, of twenty-seven or twenty-eight, is the time at which many medical students graduate. This graduation is, for the medical student, followed by a year spent as interne in a hospital. The age of thirty, therefore, represents the year at which many physicians enter into their life's calling. The age is too late, too late for the individual, too late

for the social interests of the community. Although the age is not so far advanced for the practitioner of the law, it is still of a time that is somewhat late for the student himself, as well as for the advantage of the community.

The problem is insistent in newest England, as it is in New England,—the problem of admitting well-educated men to the professions at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five. It is a problem of not sacrificing education and training to youth. It is the problem of not sacrificing youth to education and to training.

The solution is found, I may add as I pass on, in the years earlier than the matriculation at college or even of admission to the high school. It lies in the years before the age of fourteen. The boy or the girl should enter the high school at the age of twelve rather than of fourteen. Two years should be saved for him. That period, now covered by the eight years from six to fourteen, should be covered by six years, from six to twelve. Much progress in the United States has been made in the formation of this saving process. But greater progress should be made in both America and Australasia.

Closely related to the professional problem is the problem, quite as emphatic in Australasia as in America, the problem of the cultural value of vocational or so-called utilitarian studies. It is recog-

nized in both lands that the higher education should give culture or cultivation. The result of education should be the man of broad knowledge, of intellectual discrimination, of appreciation, of a love of truth and of truthfulness, of fine moral sensibilities, of responsiveness to the highest motives, of a will for noblest service and of reverence for ultimate being. Is such a personality the normal purpose and conclusion of the college of liberal learning and of that college only; or can this consummate result be secured quite as normally and naturally through the professional school? The question is common and insistent in Australasian academic life, quite as common and insistent as it is in American.

The problem is possibly not so unique as is intimated. For liberal study is not entirely cultural or liberal. It may indeed have a vocational direction or bent, and professional study is, happily, at least somewhat cultural and liberal. It is plain that, in liberal learning, the purpose is to educate the man. His personality is the ultimate end. Study is the method or means of securing this end, the end of an enriched personality. In professional learning, the gaining of knowledge or of training is the ultimate end, the man represents the process of securing this end. To illustrate: chemistry is a subject of both liberal and of technical learning. In the liberal

college, the professor teaches boys through chemistry. In a professional school, the professor teaches chemistry to boys. In the former case he uses the subject to make men. In the latter, he uses the subject and the men to make chemists.

The solution of the problem in the universities in the Southern hemisphere, as in the Northern, lies in the teacher himself. For the wise teacher may so teach the Maori languages as to nourish culture, and a crude teacher may so teach Greek poetry as to promote that barbarism from which Greek literature should give happy deliverance.

Another problem, which belongs to the universities of Australia and of New Zealand, relates to the allocation of certain professional schools, or of certain professional departments of liberal colleges, to certain special universities. It is the problem of the adjustment of types of instruction and kinds of training to those universities, which are by tradition or by environment, best qualified to give these types and kinds of training or instruction. For instance, schools of forestry are a development in academic enlargement. Such schools should be founded in conditions which do themselves provide or create laboratories for study and for practice. Auckland in New Zealand would be a far more fitting condition for such a school than Sydney in New South Wales. The Uni-

versity of Adelaide has developed, and is preparing to develop more fully, education in agriculture. It is so situated that, within a circle of a short radius, conditions for practical training in the great art and science abound. Unnecessary duplication of professional training should ever be avoided. It is an avoidance binding as throughly on the American, as on the Australasian, universities.

Another problem belonging to the higher education is the problem of training leaders for the community.

A distinguished interpreter of conditions in Australia has said:

"It is my considered judgment that Australians are the finest human raw material in the world, and that, if they are blessed with leaders worthy of them, they will achieve the ideal Commonwealth, the New Atlantis of modern civilization." [1]

The important part in this quotation is "If they are blessed with leaders worthy of them." For this blessing is as difficult to secure as it is important to possess. The difficulty is not unique to Australasia. It belongs to all democracies. One might possibly run the risk of saying that democracy, as now constituted in the world, gives small hope of creating

1 "Australia—The *Australian Outlook*," by Professor Meredith Atkinson, p. 56.

proper leadership. For it feels that the only leadership it needs to have (says the political optimist) is itself, and, at the same time, the political pessimist affirms that the only leadership it has, or deserves to have, is also itself, which is liable to be the leadership of the mass or of the mob. Representative government is properly named: happily or unhappily it is representative. It represents the lowest, and the middle, part, as well as the highest. The lowest and the middle part form a more numerous force than does the highest, as the bases of mountains are broader than are their peaks. Democracy does not normally call its ablest men to shoulder and to bear forward its heaviest responsibilities, to do its most arduous duties. Often, too often, it asks those who are not its ablest men to accept its richest honors. It prefers to govern itself poorly to having an autocrat, who may be an aristocrat, govern it well. Unconsciously it interprets the process of government as more important than the product. It seems to have a peculiar liking for the common man. Equality is one of its principles; and it is easier to get equality by pulling down the higher than by lifting up the lower. It seeks to give full rights, and some would say more than full rights, to the "under dog." As Atkinson has again said:

"The astute man, who successfully appeals to pop-

ular prejudice, or the 'sport,' or the lavish rich man, or the 'mate,' is much more likely to be elected than the soundly trained man of thought and action." [1] Democracy seems to prefer the amateur in government to the specialist.

The difficulty of securing good leadership in Australia and New Zealand is peculiarly great. For the whole community is new. The community, too, is a condition of cross currents. The people do not, in Australia at least, form a high intellectual or religious type, a type which normally offers first-rate material for the making of leaders. The demands which life makes upon the individual for his own progress, or for his own existence, leave little or no strength for communal concerns. These demands are heavy and insistent.

The truth is gladly and sadly patent that, in Australasia, as in most parts of the world, the power of the individual and of the community has got ahead of intelligence and reasonableness. The intellect to learn and to discriminate has not kept up with the will to do. The forces of life have become mightier than the personal, or general, quality to direct these vastly augumented powers. In the South land, in a special degree, the Ship of State has been committed

1 "The New Social Order," by Professor Meredith Atkinson, p. 17.

to a crew, unorganized and untrained for the duties of sailing the great political craft. The stokers have broken into the chart room, and the saloon stewards into the pilot house.[1] Laborers, secretaries of labor unions, are made premiers, and sheep ranchers become officers of the Commonwealth. The Australian, like the American, has not come to recognize the place or the worth of the expert.

Not only has the newness of the community contributed to this result, but also its lack of education. This lack is not to be interpreted as ignorance of reading, of writing, and of arithmetic. The general type of literacy in Australia and New Zealand is high. But this community, like most communities,

[1] An interpretation and illustration of what is said is found in "The Education of Henry Adams," as applied to the year 1905:

"Power seemed to have outgrown its servitude and to have asserted its freedom. The cylinder had exploded, and thrown great masses of stone and steam against the sky. The city had the air and movement of hysteria, and the citizens were crying, in every accent of anger and alarm, that the new forces must at any cost be brought under control. Prosperity never before imagined, power never yet wielded by man, speed never reached by anything but a meteor, had made the world irritable, nervous, querulous, unreasonable and afraid. All New York was demanding new men, and all the new forces, condensed into corporations, were demanding a new type of man,—a man with ten times the endurance, energy, will and mind of the old type,—for whom they were ready to pay millions at sight. As one jolted over the pavements

is really only half-educated in the important parts of education. The educational condition in general is not sound. Half-education is even worse than no education. For half-education creates desires without creating proper means of satisfying these cravings. It intimates principles without interpreting them. It declares truths without explaining their relations. It gives laws, without defining or imposing duties. For the orderliness of society, half-education is far more disturbing than no education at all. No education lets man remain a social victim. Half-education makes man a restless nihilist. Whole education disciplines man unto reasonable service. Half-education puts into his hand a sword of destruction, without judgment respecting the wisdom of using or not using it.

The elements or qualities of the leader in Aus-

or read the last week's newspapers, the new man seemed close at hand, for the old one had plainly reached the end of his strength, and his failure had become catastrophic. Every one saw it, and every municipal election shrieked chaos. A traveler in the highways of history looked out of the Club window on the turmoil of Fifth Avenue, and felt himself in Rome, under Diocletian, witnessing the anarchy, conscious of the compulsion, eager for the solution, but unable to conceive whence the next impulse was to come or how it was to act. The two-thousand-years failure of Christianity roared upward from Broadway, and no Constantine the Great was in sight." From "The Education of Henry Adams," Chapter 35. Folio Edition, pp. 436–437.

tralasia, as in all society, are not difficult to interpret. To know the goal is the first requisite for choosing the road. A goal chosen avoids wandering and waste. A leader should so know his purpose as to secure directness in progress and to promote the economical use of strength. A second requisite is an apprehension, or better a comprehension, of the nature of the movement in question. Such knowledge includes its origins, its personnel, its difficulties, its strengths, its weaknesses, its perils, its hopes. A leader is to understand what he is to lead. Third, the leader also should know whom he is leading. Sympathy in intellect and heart, as well as in will, should be a permanent mood. There are, of course, exceptions, of which possibly Parnell, is the most conspicuous example of recent times. But the leader is to appreciate the conditions of his associations and the personal qualities of his associates. He is, moreover, to lead. He is to be ahead of his hosts, or he is no leader. He is not to be so far ahead as not to be seen, or heard or felt. In this case also he is no leader. The following has lost him. Fourth, another element in the leader is tolerance. Tolerance includes a sense of intellectual proportion, a willingness to bear and to forbear, a willingness to forget forbidding details in the face of the far-off horizon. Intolerance is a characteris-

tic of the transient leader, tolerance of the permanent one. Fifth, the leader is also to have courage. Timidity is a most common fault of man. Unwillingness to accept responsibilities is the most usual weakness in administrators. The willingness to assume risks, which sometimes seem to spell rashness, the leader is to possess in the highest degree.

For the getting of noble leadership in Australasia, education is the great, I was about to say the only, force. This force works in at least three ways. First: All that the college gives for fostering, for promoting, for constituting education, trains leadership. Lord Bryce writes a moving paragraph, in his last monumental treatise upon universities and colleges as training for political leadership. He says:

"Here there are students of high intelligence, some of whom will in after life be leaders, helping to form and guide public opinion. As they already possess a knowledge of the concrete facts of politics, they can use books and can follow abstract reasonings. They discuss the questions of the hour with one another. The living voice of the teacher who can treat of large principles and answer questions out of his stores of knowledge, can warn against the fallacies that lurk in words, can explain the value of critical methods, and, above all, can try to form the open and truth-loving mind, is of inestimable value.

In times when class strife is threatened there is a special need for thinkers and speakers able to rise above class interests and class prejudices. Men can best acquire wide and impartial views in the years of youth, before they become entangled in party affiliations or business connections. The place fittest to form such views is a place dedicated to the higher learning and to the pursuit of truth. Universities render a real service to popular government by giving to men whose gifts fit them for leadership that power of distinguishing the essential from the accidental and of being the master instead of the servant of formulas which it is the business of philosophy to form, and that comprehension of what the Past has bequeathed to us by which history helps us to envisage the Present with a view to the Future." [1]

Second: The college in training leadership gives what I shall call a storage of intellectual values. It represents the coin of the intellectual realm. It is a sort of mental savings bank. Money is defined as a standard of value and a medium of exchange. But money is more. It is a storage and accumulation of value. Money might be called a liquid asset. Education is a liquid intellectual asset or force. Special education is not a liquid intellectual asset. If one

[1] "Modern Democracies," by the Right Honorable Viscount Bryce, Vol. I, p. 77.

is an electrical engineer, he has a good calling, but he is not fitted thereby to become a lawyer. If one is a college man, he is fitted to become either an electrical engineer or a lawyer or a clergyman, or a doctor of medicine. In the early history of life on the globe appeared an animal called the dinosaur. It was a reptile widely distributed, remains of which are preserved in many parts of the globe. The dinosaurs obtained the immense size of seventy feet in length. They might be called the whales of the early land. But they vanished early. They were displaced by the mammal.[1] The mammal was, compared to the dinosaur, small and slight. The dinosaur had a small brain compared to its body. The mammal had a large brain compared to its body. The mammal, endowed with a brain, displaced the dinosaur, comparatively brainless. The brain gave to the mammal the power of adjustment, adjustment to many zones and to diverse conditions. The educated leader of the community is to have a like power of adjusting himself. His intellectual assets are liquid, pliable, flexible. He has a sense of general relationships. His powers therefore he is able to fit into the conditions wherein he is placed. He has a cer-

[1] Of course other theories of the disappearance of the dinosaur, as the lack of food, are suggested: to me the one used in the text seems more logical.

tain storage of value which he can draw upon as the needs command. This quality the college trains. It gives fullness to the mind. It adds depth to depth, breadth to breadth, height to height. It gives what Matthew Arnold calls a "happy flexibility." It makes man a citizen of the entire intellectual realm. The college diploma should be a passport into every intellectual country.

The third element which the college in Australasia as in America and England trains in the creation of leadership is what I shall call the prophetic instinct. The prophetic instinct in the intellectual realm means imagination, the proper understanding, the seeing of visions, the dreaming of dreams. In the realm of feeling, prophetic instinct means the kindling of the mind over an ideal, the stirring of the heart in a great emotion, the movement of the soul toward the highest. In the realm of the will, the prophetic instinct means triumph of the idealistic force over the materialistic. It means strength for service. It means, to take the Biblical allusion, the slaying of the prophets of Baal by the sword of Jehovah. In the ethical realm, the prophetic instinct means loyalty to duty, absolute allegiance to the right. In the religious realm, the prophetic instinct means worship and the service of God. It means working with the power in and of ourselves

that makes for the betterment of the race. That prophetic instinct thus interpreted the college fosters, disciplines, trains, glorifies.

That the universities of Australia, and the University of New Zealand, and that the other forms and forces of the higher education, will ultimately succeed in creating and nourishing such leadership is plain. The task, however, is a long and hard one. But, for the performance of this task, the universities of no nation have professors more devoted or more laborious.

A further question, belonging to the Southern hemisphere, and to the Northern also, is the question of intimate association of the university with the nation of which the university is a most representative and commanding exponent. The university is, by many, looked upon as remote, a foreigner and an alien in its own land. University professors are pictured in thought, in speech, and in cartoon, as unhuman, dwelling in the clouds, lagging behind the times, finding their satisfactions in causes that are either lost or that are remote from common feeling and ordinary interest. Such an interpretation has, of course, a certain amount of truth, but it contains more of error. For the fact is that the university, and the teachers who really constitute it, are very human, were never so human in all history as at this

very hour. The university holds doors open to all who desire to enter and who are able to avail themselves of its offerings. Indeed, in certain cases it seems to go out almost too far and almost too insistently to compel youth to enter. The charge is now made that it is begging those not worthy of education, in either intellect or will, to come in. More careful discrimination in the admission of students is urged. But, whatever of truth lies in the charge of a too free hospitality, it is yet true that the university must keep close to the democracy in a democratic nation. It must maintain sympathy with the people in an autocratic or oligarchic state. If it fails thus to function, its decline and decadence are inevitable.

There is also the problem of federal aid to the higher education. The problem has lately emerged in Australia and New Zealand, as it has been emerging, in greater force, in recent years in the United States. Of this problem a competent interpreter of American, as he is a noble worker in the cause of Australian, education, has said:

"The Australian States which are financially weakest have universities that they find it difficult to maintain. As the cost of education increases, money for the most expensive higher grades is provided more sparingly. Yet, if those universities

cannot continue their professorships at salaries that will secure men of the right ability and training; or provide the sort of equipment essential to a scientific instruction of real university character and extent; or furnish their students with a proper reference library, and do many other necessary things; the credit of all the Australian universities will be diminished, and many Australians fit for the highest intellectual occupations will be denied their chance, merely because the University of their State is insufficiently developed, through no fault of its own, while the nearest adequate one is perhaps many hundreds of miles away and so beyond reach. Surely this should concern the people of Australia as a whole. It may not be right to follow the American dollar-for-dollar method of encouraging the smaller States to keep up fully their educational enterprise. But the principle of Federal support to some essential forms of such enterprise ought to be accepted. It is profitable to the whole of Australia that an Australian university shall be kept good, whether it is in Victoria or in Western Australia, in Queensland or Tasmania. It exists for the advantage of Australia, not merely of its own State." [1]

[1] "The American University: An Australian View," by E. R. Holme, Professor of the English Language in the University of Sydney, p. 229.

It may be added, as I close this chapter, that one of the problems, belonging to the universities of the Southern hemisphere, as to the universities of the other hemisphere, and as to the universities of the whole world, is the problem of keeping themselves in close fellowship with all the universities of every other land. The universities of all nations have a similar origin, environment, history. They are guided by like methods, inspired by like purposes, and the content of the instruction which they offer is surprisingly identical. In each, the supreme and commanding force is the teacher. To the interests of its own country, each university should be loyal. But the universities of each nation have somewhat to learn from the universities of Australasia and of every other nation. By such learning, each becomes a worthier agent in serving its own people, and a more worthy comrade in universal service. In such community of service, the exchange of professors, the exchange of students, represent a primary method. If the Rhodes Scholarship method could be enlarged, the advantage would be great. A permanent foundation laid in America for bringing the English, the French, the German, and other students to the new world, would be of advantage similar to that which the Rhodes Foundation now bestows on American and colonial scholars. In such mutual service, too,

world-conferences would be of large value. To such conferences many and pregnant problems might be wisely submitted. Among such problems are:—

1. What elements are common to the higher education of all countries: (a) aim, (b) methods, (c) forces, (d) conditions, (e) results?
2. What elements are unique in each country, and what is their value in the higher education of other countries?
3. Should endeavor be made to extend the application of the exchange of professors to all nations?
4. What are the great problems of the higher education in: (a) England, (b) France, (c) Germany, (d) Austria, (e) Italy, (f) India, (g) China, (h) Japan, (i) United States, and (j) the chief countries of South America?
5. What is liberal education in the judgment of the great nations?
6. What ways are most effective for higher education to influence the great institutions of a country?

The problems which I thus note are, in part, world-problems in education. But they belong, with special fullness and insistence, to the universities of the Southern hemisphere.

In the solution of such and other world-problems the universities of Australasia are to possess the in-

ternational mind, the international heart, and the international will. Democracy is inclined to be tribal. Truth,—the cause, the motive, the product of the university,—recognizes neither territorial nor tribal divisions. National boundaries are not scholastic boundaries. Though the experiences of the Great War offer contradictory evidence, yet it is true that the universities of the world are more thoroughly united than other international institutions. Their fundamental desires are held in common. Their highest purposes are one. Moral reasonableness is their constant atmosphere. A passion to learn origins and causes, an eagerness to understand tendencies and movements, an appreciation of conclusions either certain or provisional, inspire their national and international service. Such forces and conditions unite the universities of the Southern and Western hemisphere with the universities of a hemisphere Northern and Eastern.

V

RELIGION

The remark that man is incurably religious applies as a general interpretation to the British race. To no part of that race, moreover, could the remark more fittingly be applied than to the Australian and New Zealand; but this application has a specific limitation to the formal and chief institution of the Christian religion, the Christian church.

The religious element in the character and life of Australia and New Zealand belongs in conspicuous ways to the organization and maintenance of the Protestant church. The church in Australasia, as in all parts of the world, has, like the body of Osiris, been broken into fragments. But, to one of these sections, most citizens and families of the Southern continent do belong. About ninety-six per cent. of the people of Australia declare themselves, in the formal declaration of the census, as belonging to a church. Almost as large a proportion also declare themselves, at the time of the solemnization of marriage, as adherents. This number, of course, is divided among

the Roman Catholic and the Protestant faiths, and other ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical organizations. The conception of the British people, that it is fitting to have association with a church, is no where more generally recognized than in the South land.

This recognition and observance become the more emphatic on studying and feeling the pervasiveness of the Christian sentiment. The Christian sentiment moves as an atmosphere. It is more pervasive than forceful. If, to the mind, it fail to become a clear understanding, or, to the will, a supreme choice, or to the conscience an obligation,—to the heart at least it becomes an emotion, quickening and inspiring. In life's crises, sentiment is intellectual and moral strength, and in life's common experiences, it is a constant and sometimes a mighty power. In the more general and superficial sense, the Southern continent is the field for the transplanting of the Christian sentiment and practice of the English, the Scottish, and the Irish peoples.

The power of this sentiment, however, constantly meets the forces of other sentiments opposing. The forces antagonistic to religion may be summed up, comprehensively, as indifference and materialism. The Principal of the Moore Theological College, Sydney, writing of a representative conference of the

chief Protestant churches, says: "The most remarkable feature was the unity of conviction that all Christian bodies were faced with the same practical problem, namely, a vast mass of solid indifference to organized religion. A great variety of causes was alleged for this indifference, but there was complete agreement on the fact that in all the churches only a small proportion of the nominal adherents were in any sense active members." [1]

The people of Australasia do not feel the need of religion, and therefore cease to care for it, and neglect to attend to the peculiar duties of its institutions. Their thoughts are rather absorbed in getting and spending. Their pleasures are found in the satisfactions of the senses. Their plans concern their own personality or environment. Their emotions relate largely to business or professional success. Their interests belong to their own neighborhoods or families. Of course, such general interpretations are open to serious objections. One easily finds exceptions, both in persons and in groups. But the evidence is strong that indifference or materialism, and the consequent results, characterize the religious interpretation and practice of this, as of almost every other, new people.

[1] "The Church and the Plain Man," by Archdeacon David J. Davies, p. 4.

The reasons for such intellectual and spiritual indifference or materialism are, however, more significant than the phenomena themselves.

The reasons are manifold, complex, and diverse.

One reason lies in the origins of this transplanting. The first settlers came, leaving out such ecclesiastical and educational colonists as those of Christchurch, and the Scottish colonists of Dunedin, with the distinct purpose of material advantage. They came to dig gold, to cultivate the soil, to raise cattle and sheep, to engage in trade. Of course one does not forget that, contemporaneous with and earlier than such immigration, came the convict. The convicts, however, were not brought to New South Wales after 1840, nor to Tasmania after 1853. Transportation, however, to Western Australia, continued to 1868. Settlements, thus made, do not tend to cultivate the religious spirit.

Associated with the origins of this materialistic type were and are the standards of a civilization and of a society of a new land. These standards were, and were in no small degree, sensual and material. The will to live was, and had to be, primary. The struggle with nature, constant and relentless, was first in time and in importance. The home had to be built before the church, the barn before the school-

house, and the wheat field to be plowed before the pastor's glebe.

I also do not doubt that the charm of out-of-doors, and the pleasantness of one of the best of all climates, turned and still turn the minds of people away from things devout and religious. The athletic life interests the British youth and the adult everywhere more than contemplative concerns. In a type of muscular Christianity, the adjective is found to be more commanding than the noun. The indoor life of the church proves to be less winsome than the outdoor life of the field and the forest. The use of the bat seems to be more insistent than the worship of the altar.

The dominance of the trade union has also acted and yet acts as a brake on the progress of the religious faith. Unionism in Australia and New Zealand is concerned primarily with wages to be made higher, with hours of work to be made shorter, with physical conditions of labor to be made more hygienic and pleasant. The trade union, in becoming law to its members, also becomes a gospel, a gospel which to not a few proves to be a substitute for evangelism. For the union stands for a certain class consciousness as does the church. The union offers opportunities for self-expression as does

the church. The union is a society, and a society under leadership, as is the church. The union gives an open door for service, provides the means, and intimates the method, as does the church. But the trade union is inclined to lessen individuality. It promotes equality, and an equality rather by lowering than by lifting. It depreciates and deprecates personality; it amalgamates personalities into a system. Religion, however, is of all elements and forces personal. It develops, lifts, cultivates, strengthens, personality.

The very prosperity, moreover, of Australia and New Zealand, has tended, and still tends, to do away with the realization of the need of religion. These lands are prosperous. Their people believe they have the best human material for the making of the finest or perfect race. Droughts do not dry up their enthusiasms. Adversities do not blight their hopes. Their resources seem to have no end. Miseries they suffer, but they are not miserable. Calamities fall upon them, but they do not lie beneath the blows. They are a people powerful, and they know they are powerful. Professor J. R. Seeley, in his great essay "Roman Imperialism," says:

"Religious feeling is generally strong in proportion to the sense of weakness and helplessness. It is when man's own resources fail that he looks most

anxiously to find a friend in the universe. Religion is man's consolation in the presence of a necessity which he cannot resist, his refuge when he is deserted by his own power, or energy, or ingenuity. . . . A time of great advance in power, whether scientific power over Nature, or the power to avert evils, given by wealth and prosperity, is commonly a time of decline in religious feeling, until man's wants, ever growing with his acquisitions, strike again against the impassable boundary." [1] The remarks, which the broad and keen interpreter thus makes, apply with a force to Australia and New Zealand equal to that with which it applied to the Roman Empire.

For these several and diverse causes, the people of these new lands are not primarily religious. These causes are, in part, permanent, and, in part, transient. But they are causes which have been, and still are, dominant. One, at least, of the conditions out of which these causes spring, belongs, in different ways, to the Church Protestant, and to the Church Roman Catholic. The Protestant Church in Australia and New Zealand, as in most parts of the world, is supposed not to have sympathy with labor and with labor's movements. The charge, I venture to say is at least only one-quarter true.

[1] Lectures and Essays, "Roman Imperialism," by J. R. Seeley, pp. 85–86.

The Roman Catholic Church in Australia and New Zealand, as in most parts of the word, is supposed to be sympathetic with labor. In the War the Roman Catholic Church was allied with labor in Australian and New Zealand movements. In a recent election in New South Wales, the labor party won, although by a small majority, in large part by reason of the devoted and vigorous aid of the Roman Catholic body. In Queensland, the labor party is closely identified with the Roman Catholic. Be it added that in Australia the Roman Catholic Church is largely composed of Irishmen. This fact has meaning in respect to the forcefulness of its ecclesiastical activities.

The religion of the island-continents, however, is not confined to the more historic faiths and associations. It is manifest in many and diverse beliefs and confessions. Cults abound. These cults bear diverse epithets: psychological, metaphysical, spiritual, spiritualistic, are the more usual. These lands, as well as the Pacific Coast of North America, seem to have special affinity with unique forms of faith, of feeling, and of healing. To seek the reason of such prevalence would carry one too far afield. It does, however, represent a most interesting sphere, or hemisphere, of research for the psychological investigator.

Into the official relations of the individual State or of the Commonwealth, to education—and education is of the individual State—religion does not in any form enter. In New Zealand schools, the reading of the Bible is not by law permitted. In New South Wales, and other States of Australia, no instruction in religion is given by the teachers. But the clergymen of the different churches are allowed to enter the schools and to offer religious tuition. This method of personal, or denominational, teaching seems to be satisfactory. The direct testimony given to me is strong in its behalf. It is the purpose of the people of Australia to maintain education as secular, as also it is their purpose to keep it free and compulsory.

Nevertheless, the clergyman and the priest, the theological teacher and the evangelist, represent an important part of the community's life and culture. The priest, the clergyman, and the theological teacher are distinguished rather for their activity than for their scholarship. Few are the treatises, either of theology or philosophy, which have their origin in the psychological laboratories or the theological libraries of the South lands. In even the churches of certain States of Australia, less than one-third of all clergymen possess academic degrees. Many theological schools are obliged to fulfill the

three-fold function of a preparatory school, of a university, and of a professional seminary. The attachment of the professional schools to the university through a broad type of affiliation is certain, however, to give to clergymen opportunity of further scholarship without the risk of losing devotion and devoutness. The islands do not, however, entirely depend upon themselves for their ministers or for the education of their ministry. Each year brings over at least a few graduates of Scottish and other theological schools.

A yet more complex and difficult question is the problem of the increase of the influence of religion on the life and conduct of the people. It is a complex and a delicate question. It is a question to which I have no consummate or comprehensive answer to give. Yet there are two or three tests which may be said to offer intimations for the making of a reply. The power of religion over a people—and by religion I mean the Christian faith—can be measured somewhat, first, by attendance at the services of the church, and, second, by the observance of Sunday. The church is the principal institution of religion and its services are its principal functions. Sunday is the chief day for the exercise, by the church, of these functions. These two tests are, of course, intimately connected. The services of the

church on Sunday command a small attendance, numbering hardly more than one-fifth of all the members or adherents. There is little, be it said, offered in many sermons,—which in non-conforming churches form the most important part of the service, —to compel attendance. Of course, exceptions are to be found, and I have found them. These services and sermons in general represent a very moderate degree of intellectual force and of spiritual zeal. Sunday, too, is in fact a day for out-of-doors. The picnic basket is its true sign and symbol. The sky and the lake, the shore and the hillside, invite to recreation, and the invitations of and to nature are accepted. In the metropolitan centers of Australia and New Zealand, no less than in the rural districts, the pulpit does not seem to command the attention or the attendance of thinking people.

A special problem of the administration of religion in Australia does relate to the "Bush." The individual clergyman of the country districts seeks to serve a town and several sub-stations. The area committed to him is large, the roads hard, the time needed in journeys long. "It is quite common for a country parson to be responsible for services in a dozen or a score of widely-separated centers connected by roads that are little more than tracks, with abundant pitfalls and obstacles, tree stumps, fallen

tree trunks, fords, quagmires, sandbeds, ruts, and minor ravines in the road surface. Thirty or forty miles of driving with three or four services is quite an ordinary Sunday's work." [1] In these immense parishes there is little community life. Families are isolated. Under such conditions, religion, as interpreted in and by the church, suffers.

The influence of religion over the moral conduct of the people is of the strength which one finds in the older democratic nations. Leaving out gambling, of which I write elsewhere, this influence is pervasive and controlling over the more thoughtful and reverent classes. Over other classes, in Australia as elsewhere, its influence is slight. Ethical and hygienic principles have an influence in restraining from vicious indulgences quite as virile as strictly religious forces.

This interpretation of religion in the island-continents made by earnest souls is well summed up by a prayer of a devout minister who lived and labored for thirty years in the "Back Blocks":

"May God . . . hasten the time when the moral virtues and the spiritual life shall receive their sanction in people's minds; because of their profound as-

[1] "The Church and the Plain Man," by Archdeacon David J. Davies, Principal of Moore Theological College, Sydney, p. 75.

surance of the reality of a personal Creator, whose government is the basis of human well-being, and whose desire is to purge us of all hardness and hatred, giving us the conviction that our inheritance in Jesus Christ is of infinitely more value than any human treasure.

"Would that the energies of Australians were directed more to the best things; and while concerned about sheep and wool, and merchandise and mining, and wheat and land, give heed also to the best things and earnestly covet them. Would that, in the far and lonely tracts of the west and north, and in the bustling city and by the sea, they would hear the call to acknowledge the Great Giver of all, in response to which their energies would be touched with a nobler grace." [1]

[1] "Out West for Thirty Years: Notes of a Ministry in the Real Australia," by Reverend W. Robertson, pp. 185–186.

VI

POETRY AND OTHER LITERATURE

The literature of a nation is a record or an epitome of its experiences interpreted in terms of imagination. It is also an exponent of its present thought, feeling, interests, purposes, ideals, expressed in terms of the appreciative heart and of the disciplined mind. The literature, therefore, of Australia and New Zealand has special value in an endeavor to understand this new people.

For Australia is a new people. Though the people are as old as the British race in their origin, they are also made new by their new environment and by the other conditions, forces, aims, limitations, necessities, which the new environment creates. They are, and they represent, a transplanted civilization, transplanted for the purpose of material benefit, a purpose which, be it added, the worthiest members of that civilization have greatly realized. This transplantation has not created what, in a general and highest sense, can be called literature. A literature of information has indeed been begun. A few volumes of timely essays have been written. Biographies of local prime ministers and of other leaders

have been published. But a general and noble literature awaits the future.

This fact, and certain intimations of the causes of the fact, have been voiced by an Australian interpreter, who has said:

"There is no glamor of old Romance about our early history, no shading off from the actual into a dim region of myth and fable; our beginnings are clearly defined and of an eminently prosaic character. The early settlers were engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with nature, and in the establishment of the primitive industries. Their strenuous pioneering days were followed by the feverish excitement of the gold period and a consequent rapid expansion of all industries. Business and politics have afforded ready roads to success, and have absorbed the energies of the best intellects. There has been no leisured class of cultured people to provide the atmosphere in which literature is best developed as an art; and, until recently, we have been content to look to the mother country for our artistic standards and supplies. The principal literary productions of our first century came from writers who had been born elsewhere, and naturally brought with them the traditions and sentiments of their home country." [1]

1 "An Anthology of Australian Verse." Introduction, by Bertram Stevens, p. XX.

The contrast between this condition and a period of equal length in the first century of the American colonies has rather pregnant meanings. A great interpreter, Woodberry, has said: "The governors, beginning with William Bradford (1590–1657) of Plymouth, and John Winthrop (1588–1649) of Massachusetts Bay, wrote the annals of their times, and the line of historians was continued by Winslow, Nathaniel Morton, Prince, Hubbard and Hutchinson. The clergy, headed by John Cotton (1585–1652), Thomas Hooker (1586?–1647), Nathaniel Ward (1579?–1652), Roger Williams (1600–1683), Richard Mather (1596–1669), John Eliot (1604–1690), produced sermons, platforms, catechisms, theological dissertations, tracts of all sorts, and their line also was continued by Shepard, Norton, Wise, the later Mathers and scores of other ministers. The older clergy were not inferior in power of learning to the leaders of their own communion in England, and they commanded the same prose that characterizes the Puritan tracts of the mother country; nor did the kind of writing deteriorate in their successors." [1]

The first century of the North American colonists

[1] "Appreciation of Literature, and America in Literature," by George Edward Woodberry, "An Encyclopedic View," p. 253.

in the creation of literature forms a deep contrast with the first century of Australia in its lack of a like creative force. This comprehensive interpretation has at least two exceptions. One, and the less significant, refers to fiction, and the other to poetry.

Fiction, however, in the Southern nations has few representatives. But there is one novel of peculiar significance. It bears the pregnant and sinister title "For the Term of His Natural Life." Under this title is presented a powerful picture of the convict system as applied in Tasmania in the fifth decade of the last century. In this volume, printed fifty years ago, Marcus (Andrew Hislop) Clarke gives, for the present generation and for the future, a tragic interpretation of the tragedies of the penal settlements. Clarke wrote much in play, and in novel, in the eighteen years between his coming to Victoria in 1863 and his death in 1881. But no one of his works approaches the power of "For the Term of His Natural Life."

The more and the most important part of Australian literature relates to poetry. In Australia poetry is cultivated, in both its writing and in its popular reading, to a unique degree, a degree unique in certain respects among all the peoples of the world. Poetry is more generally read in Australasia than in any other part of the world, and there it is the

most generally read of all types of literature. One book of poems, published by an outstanding house in Sydney, has sold a hundred thousand copies, and another volume seventy thousand. Of course, one may say that the poetry of Henry Lawson, of Kendall, of Dennis, and of other writers of their type, is not of the noblest character. It represents, however, a good combination of Burns, Rudyard Kipling, Walt Whitman, Bret Harte, but not, be it said, of the best elements of each.

The Australian poetry of the bush, of the sea, of the stars, has the personality of Burns, with a touch of his domestic and homey feelings, the moral sweep and movement of Kipling, the richness and democracy of Whitman, and the picturesqueness of the diggers and the diggings of Harte. Such a union and combination is unique and impressive. Such an interpretation, however, does not belong to the best examples of the work of each,—and, be it added, the examples of the poems of Lawson, of Kendall and of Dennis greatly differ in their merit.

Of course, these names are not to be linked with the names of the masters of song. Australian poets have small kinship with those who, in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, made English poesy the greatest since the age of Shakespeare. These names belong to the second or third order.

But, even as such, they are worthy of note. The best known of them is Henry Lawson.[1]

Of Lawson it has been said: "Something of what Burns did for Scotland, something of what Kipling did for India, he has done for Australia; but he is not in the least like either Kipling or Burns. Judged as verse, his work has nearly always a certain crudity; judged by the higher standard of poetry, it is often greatest when the crudity is most apparent. In the coming chances and changes it is daring to predict immortality for any writer. The world is being remade in fire and pain; in that remaking every standard of achievement may be altered utterly from those to which we have been accustomed; but if permanency is to be looked for anywhere, it is in vital, red-blooded work such as Lawson's—work that came so straight from the heart that it must always find a heart to respond to it. All Aus-

[1] "Henry Hertzberg Lawson: Born near Grenfell, New South Wales, 17th of June, 1867; son of Peter Hertzberg Larsen, a Norwegian, and Louisa Albury, native of New South Wales. Worked with his father, who was a farmer and contractor; came to Sydney at seventeen and learned the trade of a coach-painter; commenced writing verse, 1887; was on the staff of the Queensland *Boomerang*, 1890; traveled in New South Wales, West Australia and New Zealand, engaged in various occupations; went to London, 1900. Returned to Sydney, 1903." Golden Treasury of Australian Verse, edited by Bertram Stevens, p. 362.

tralia is there, painted with a big brush in the colors in which its people see it." [1]

I am going to give certain illustrations of the best verse of the best-known writer of verse in the Southern lands. In the poem on "The Star of Australasia," Lawson sings:

"The self-same spirit that drives the man to the depths
of drink and crime
Will do the deeds in the heroes' van that live till the
end of time.
The living death in the lonely bush, the greed of the
selfish town,
And even the creed of the outlawed push is chivalry
—upside down.
'Twill be while ever our blood is hot, while ever the
world goes wrong,
The nations rise in a war, to rot in a peace that lasts
too long.
And Southern Nation and Southern State, aroused
from their dream of ease,
Must sign in the Book of Eternal Fate their stormy
histories." [2]

From a characteristic poem on "The Roaring Days," is taken this stanza:

[1] Selected Poems of Henry Lawson, 1918, pp. XII–XIII.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 7.

"Ah, then their hearts were bolder,
And if Dame Fortune frowned
Their swags they'd lightly shoulder
And tramp to other ground.
Oh, they were lion-hearted
Who gave our country birth!
Stout sons, of stoutest fathers born,
From all the lands of earth!" [1]

In a semi-biographical interpretation, and possibly autobiographical, on "Sweeney," Lawson says:

"I suppose he's tramping somewhere where the bushmen carry swags,
Dragging round the western stations with his empty tucker-bags;
And I fancy that, of evenings, when the track is growing dim,
What he 'might have been and wasn't' comes along and troubles him." [2]

In a most characteristic poem, "Past Carin'," it is sung:

" 'Twas ten years first, then came the worst,
All for a barren clearin',

[1] *Ibid.* p. 18.
[2] Selected Poems by Henry Lawson, published by Angus and Robertson, p. 27.

I thought, I thought my heart would burst
When first my man went shearin';
He's drovin' in the great Northwest,
I don't know how he's farin';
And I, the one that loved him best,
Have grown to be past carin'.
I've grown to be past carin',
Past waitin' and past wearin':
The girl that waited long ago,
Has lived to be past carin'." [1]

In "The Drover's Sweetheart," the "sweetheart" sings:

"And he is coming back again—
He wrote from Evatt's Rock;
A flood was in the Darling then
And foot-rot in the flock.
The sheep were falling thick and fast
A hundred miles from town,
And when he reached the line at last
He trucked the remnant down.

"And so he'll have to stand the cost;
His luck was always bad,
Instead of making more, he lost
The money that he had;
And how he'll manage, Heaven knows

[1] *Ibid.* p. 31.

(My eyes are getting dim);
He says—he says—he don't—suppose
I'll want—to—marry—him.

"As if I wouldn't take his hand
Without a golden glove—
Oh! Jack, you men won't understand
How much a girl can love.
I long to see his face once more—
Jack's dog! Thank God, it's Jack!—
(I never thought I'd faint before)
He's coming—up—the track." [1]

In a poem, called "Bill," which reminds one of Kipling, it is sung:

"And when, because of its million sins, this earth is cracked like a shell,
He will stand by a mate at the Judgment-Seat!—and comfort him down in—Well,
I haven't much sentiment left to waste, but let cynics sneer as they will,
Perhaps God will fix up the world again for the sake of the likes of Bill." [2]

In a further characteristic poem, Lawson sings, under the heading of "Out Back":

[1] Selected Poems of Henry Lawson, 1918, p. 57.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 65.

"For time means tucker, and tramp they must, where
the plains and scrubs are wide,
With seldom a track that a man can trust, or a moun-
tain peak to guide;
All day long in the flies and heat the men of the out-
side track,
With stinted stomachs and blistered feet, must carry
their swags Out Back." [1]

My heart and my mind bid me still to quote equally moving verses. For these many lines, which are extracted, are directly representative of the force and the fire, of the sadness and the damage, of the broken hearts and broken lives, of the optimism rising out of the depths, of the realism touched by the sunlight of glorious idealism, of all the poems. In his life, Lawson has experienced much of all that which the imagination creates. "The drover, the stockman, the shearer, the rider far on the sky-line, the girl waiting at the sliprails, the big bush funeral, the coach with flashing lamps passing at night along the ranges, the man to whom home is a bitter memory and his future a long despair, the troops marching to the beat of the drum, the coasting vessel struggling through blinding south-westerly gales, the great gray plain, the wilderness of the 'Never-Never'—in long procession the pictures pass, and every picture

[1] *Ibid.* p. 83.

is a true one because Henry Lawson has been there to see with the eyes of his heart." [1]

The question, however, of keenest fascination does not refer to the life and poems of Henry Lawson, or to the fact that other poets have been born and bred in Australian city and on Australian plain. The chief interest lies in the causes of this large and unique development of song.

The first cause, in my judgment—and it is more or less superficial—lies in the physical conditions of a world-race placed in a new environment. These conditions, of course, embrace climate, landscape, and unique social circumstances. Such conditions and such forces appeal to the imagination. They quicken the seeing of life as a whole and of its diverse phenomena. They do not call out the rational or logical faculties. They evoke vision, immediate and direct. Such an effect the new scenery of Massachusetts Bay had upon its colonists. The effect of a climate, quite unlike that of Massachusetts Bay, has had, however, a like effect upon the settlers in Australia. As a great poet and a noble interpreter of American life and character, in his "A New Defense of Poetry," has said:

"It is a marvelous victory of the spirit over matter when it takes the stars of heaven and the flowers of

[1] Selected Poems of Henry Lawson, 1918, p. X.

earth and makes them utter forth its speech, less as it seems in words of human language than in the pictured hieroglyph and symphonic movement of natural things; for in such poetry it is not the vision of nature, however beautiful, that holds attention; it is the color, form, and music of things externalizing, visualizing the inward mood, emotion, or passion of the singer. Nature is emptied of her contents to become the pure inhabitancy of one human soul." [1]

A second cause, quite as superficial possibly as the first already named, of the outburst of poetry, is found in the vision of the heavens at night. The stars of the Southern hemisphere, of the first magnitude, outnumber those of the Northern hemisphere about two to one. They are more brilliant too than the luminaries of the Northern sky. The firmament moreover seems a bit nearer to the earth than in the North. Such a nightly vision in the lonely bush, in the "Never-Never" land, calls out all the poetry that dwells in the soul,—rather, possibly, it may be said to create poetry in the soul.

"I must go forth and be part of it, part of the night
and its gladness.
But a few steps, and I pause on the marge of the
shining lagoon.

[1] "Heart of Man and Other Papers," by George Edward Woodberry, p. 111.

Here then, at length, I have rest; and I lay down my
burden of sadness,
Kneeling alone 'neath the stars and the silvery arc
of the moon." [1]

Another reason for the writing and the general reading of poetry lies in what may be called the melancholy of the "Never-Never" land, or of the "Back Blocks." The shepherd or the farmer lives a lonely life. Neighbors are fifteen or fifty miles away. One woman writes that she has not seen any other woman in five months. One is flung back either on one's self, or on the forces of nature. Such a condition creates a new mental visionariness, and in this visionariness the element of the melancholy of the soul is dominant. The heart leaps into verse. As an example of the poetry of the melancholy, let me quote a few lines from "An Australian Symphony," which was written in as well as on Australian solitude, by George Essex Evans:

"The gray gums by the lonely creek,
The star-crowned height,
The wind-swept plain, the dim blue peak,
The cold white light,
The solitude spread near and far

[1] "Night," by James Brunton Stephens. Published in An Anthology of Australian Verse by Bertram Stevens, p. 62.

Around the camp-fire's tiny star,
The horse-bell's melody remote,
The curlew's melancholy note
Across the night." [1]

Another cause, lying in a different realm, relates to the social and governmental constitution of Australia. For Australia is a democratic, as well as a new, nation. De Tocqueville, in his "Democracy in America," admits that the Americans have no poets. But he grants that they have poetic ideas. He also says:

"Nothing conceivable is so petty, so insipid, so crowded with paltry interests, in one word, so antipoetic, as the life of a man in the United States. But amongst the thoughts which it suggests, there is always one which is full of poetry, and this is the hidden nerve which gives vigor to the whole frame." [2]

There are interpreters, who would make a similar remark about Australia. But, they might also find that democracy may create an age which deserves the epithet imaginative or poetical. For De Tocqueville also says:

[1] "An Australian Symphony," by George Essex Evans. Published in An Anthology of Australian Verse by Bertram Stevens, p. 137.

[2] "Democracy in America," by Alexis de Tocqueville, Vol. II, p. 90.

"At that same time at which every man, raising his eyes above his country, begins at length to discern mankind at large, the Deity is more and more manifest to the human mind in full and entire majesty. If, in democratic ages, faith in positive religion be often shaken, and the belief in intermediate agents, by whatever name they are called, be overcast, on the other hand, men are disposed to conceive a far broader idea of Providence itself, and its interference in human affairs assumes a new and more imposing appearance to their eyes. Looking at the human race as one great whole, they easily conceive that its destinies are regulated by the same design; and in the actions of every individual they are led to acknowledge a trace of that universal and eternal plan on which God rules our race. This consideration may be taken as another prolific source of poetry which is opened in democratic times." [1]

"Amongst a democratic people, poetry will not be fed with legends or the memorials of old traditions. The poet will not attempt to people the universe with supernatural beings, in whom his readers and his own fancy have ceased to believe; nor will he coldly personify virtues and vices, which are better received under their own features. All these resources fail him; but Man remains, and the poet needs no more.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 91.

The destinies of mankind—man himself, taken aloof from his country and his age, and standing in the presence of Nature and of God, with his passions, his doubts, his rare prosperities and inconceivable wretchedness—will become the chief, if not the sole, theme of poetry amongst these nations." [1]

The poetry of Australia is its most representative literary creation. It belongs to a democratic race of pioneers. Its origin is to be accepted for what that origin is. Its character, romantic and never classical, lyric and seldom epical, at times of much alloy, and at other times of purer, even if of rough, metal, is to be received for what it is. It belongs to its own race, and belongs to it, too, at an early period of its virile development. It is at once pagan and Christian, secular and religious, human and natural, quickened by the emotions as well as created by the imagination, the outpouring of the whole soul of man, flung into new forces and conditions, beneath the Southern Cross. Science, called sometimes the enemy of poesy, does not and will not dislodge it, as an inspiring force and interpretation of the heart of the Anglo-Saxon dwelling on the new shores of the Southern seas.

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 93.

VII

THE NEWSPAPER

The newspaper in Australasia is subjected to certain unique limitations. The limitations are both material and intellectual. The more serious of the material limitations are comprehended in a single word—remoteness. The press and other machines of production come from the United States or from England. The paper comes from Canada. Foresight needs be longer and capital larger than is found necessary in countries less remote from the sources of supply.

Certain limitations, less material, are summed up in the word—the field. The constituency of its readers and advertisers is narrow and small. Its possible range of news covers the world, but its zones of local statements and interpretations, zones which represent, for most papers, the more commanding interests, are lacking in amount and in variety. The largest city in Australia, Sydney, has about one million people, and this million or less is not far from one-sixth of the entire population of both the

Commonwealth and of the Dominion. Dunedin, that city of New Zealand which is, of all cities, the nearest to the South Pole, has less than seventy thousand inhabitants. The variety, too, comes to its limit, quite as speedily as the amount of news. Industrial and governmental questions are the chief items for presentation and for study. The industrial questions arise from relations similar to the governmental, being, in no small part, a shorter day, a longer pay-envelope and better conditions for the workers. The governmental questions touch problems, administrative, educational, financial, pastoral, agricultural, as well as industrial. Each set of problems is important in its own field and important also in relation to other fields. But the whole field is small. The contrast between papers, placed in such limitations, material and human, and the papers of New York or of London, of Chicago or of Manchester, is fundamental. But, under such conditions, the newspapers of Australasia are greatly fulfilling their primary purposes. Of several types are they, but, of course, the more common and the most important is the daily. Politically, most of them are partisan, but their partisanship is, like the common type of antagonisms in Australasia, of a mild form and emphasis. They serve, as do most papers throughout the world and as most

papers ought, to represent local interests. Yet, the most significant characteristics of these papers, twelve thousand miles away from the centers of the world's life, is space given to the news of the world. Of the relationship between the space given to the world-life and local interests, I select a leading journal of New Zealand's capital, "The Dominion." The copy from which I quote is the copy of the morning on which I write, December 8, 1920. The headlines of two pages are themselves sufficiently significant. The page devoted especially to New Zealand news presents these subjects: "Immigration—What the Department is Doing—Aid for the New Arrivals"; "The Miramar Houses—An Official Statement—Importance of keeping down the Cost"; "Hotel Workers' Claim—Increased Wages and Better Conditions—Desire for Week of Forty-eight Hours"; "Children's Teeth—Department's Scheme Explained—Mr. Hunter and His Critics—Sole Solution of a Grave Problem"; "The New Bonus—Basis of Computation—Union Representatives say Mistake was Made"; "The Turf-Auckland Handicaps." The page devoted, on the other hand, to the world-news, offers these headings: "The Davis Cup—Welcome to American Team"; "Workers' Conditions—Way to Obtain Improvement—Through Ballot Box; not by Bloody Upheaval" (London); "Irish

Settlement—Excellent Opportunity for Negotiation —All Ireland Tired of Strife—Mr. Henderson to lay Proposals before Premier"; "Armenian Tragedy —President Wilson's Mediation—Motion opposing Use of Forces or Treasure" (Washington); "League of Nations—Argentina's Withdrawal Regretted—Canada desires Elimination of Article Ten—Powers of Council and Assembly" (Geneva); "Indian Elections—Every Chance of Success of New Constitution—Many Moderates Returned" (Delhi).

The items which I thus quote referring to world-news, are printed in almost identical words in scores of journals from Perth in Western Australia, to Christchurch in central New Zealand. The Press Association of London sends the dispatches, and of course they are paid for, and at a high rate, by the participating journals. Although the people of Australasia seem to us so far out of the world, yet they think of themselves as very much in the world. For the world-problems are their problems, at least for information and discussion. It is probable, however, that no paper outside of the United States and of Western Europe devotes so much space or spends so much money in foreign news as the great world-paper of Buenos Aires, *La Nacion.*

The editorial writing of the daily papers is a continuation of the tradition of England. It repre-

sents a mild sort of dogmatism, expressed in pointed commonplace. It embodies the ponderous type of editorial utterance. It stands for the classical tradition. It is Addisonian English made over for the twentieth century. Oxford men are found on papers whose leaders they write as an avocation, while they pursue their vocations of the law or of other calling. In some instances, the training for editorial writing has been given by the paper itself. There are no schools of journalism. In still other cases, the universities, through their regular instruction, have trained these writers. The courses in English, for instance, found in the University of Sydney, have for a generation been noteworthy.

The most generally read paper, is *The Bulletin* of Sydney. It is difficult to describe *The Bulletin.* A weekly, it serves both as a daily journal and as a monthly magazine. Its departments are many and the terms describing or interpreting certain of these departments somewhat unique. "Aboriginalities," concerned with the natural history of the "Back Blocks," "The Wildcat" department, read, it is said, by every banker in Australia, are perhaps the most marked. But, throughout, the dramatic criticisms, the personal items, the Answers to Correspondents, "The Lady's Letter," are found a certain content and richness of native production

which fascinates all, and may disgust some. It embodies the Australian doctrine of freedom. It is reported to be honest. It is pointedly, perhaps too pointedly, personal. It has a dagger for cheap politicians and cheaper financiers. It publishes much bad, considerable good, poetry, and it has done not a little to develop an Australian school. It is written with force and fire, and with a similarity of thought and of expression that causes one to wonder how several styles of composition, can be molded into a single form. It has been called "The Bushman's Bible"; but it is read in the parlors and offices of Melbourne, as well as in the "Back Blocks." It is an exponent of important elements and interests of Australian society.

The fact and the prosperity of this weekly journal become significant when brought into contrast with the absence of review or magazine of reflective opinion. Such a review has, at times, been begun, but it has presently and invariably failed. The constituency of both readers and contributors seems to be too small to give permanent support. There is no clientele in newest England comparable to that which supported the *Atlantic* when it sprang into being in 1857, in New England.

Apparently the significance of a certain department in *The Bulletin* is very well represented in a

paragraph in Russell's novel "Ashes of Achievement," (p. 102):—

"Unwilling to wait for a month, he sent this to a flippant, clever weekly—*The Arrow*. A feature of this paper is its shattering, devastating 'Answers to Correspondents' column. A week later, over his initials, Philip had the pleasure of reading the following gentle, helpful criticism:—

'We regret to inform P. P. L. that he died a great many years ago. We have buried the bit of him that came to this office, in the W. P. B., the obsequies being presided over by the office cat. We advise him to complete the job.'"

The absence of a proper journal of thought results, however, in one advantage. The daily papers are used as the means of the expression and the formation of the deeper currents of thinking and of reflection. I find, for instance, in the *Argus* of Melbourne, running through many years, such subjects as these treated by the leaders of public opinion: "The New Medical Curriculum," "New Courses of Study," "The Classical Substitution," "The Future of the University," "Degrees in Divinity," "The University and the State," "A Free University," "The Clinical Pathologist: His Position and Work," "The Problems of Rural Life," "The Making and

Significance of a National Park," "The Problem of the Settlement of Tropical Australia," "Affairs of Empire." Such topics,—and the number and variety might be greatly increased,—are treated in the daily papers and with a fullness of discussion and amplitude of illustration which belong to the quarterlies of England and the monthly magazines of the United States.

The financial returns to the owners indicate that the newspaper, as a form of investment, is more profitable than a gold mine. I remarked to a manager that his paper was making too much money. He assented to my intimation. In the United States, the understanding is that one-third of the space of each edition should be occupied by reading material and two-thirds by advertisements. In Australasia, the proportion is nearer one-quarter and three-quarters. In the swiftness of industrial and social changes in Australasia is found one source of the apparently unlimited supply of advertising material.

The influence of the daily journals in a democracy is always a question open to debate. In some political campaigns, the antagonism of certain journals to a candidate is regarded as a positive asset. One need only refer in evidence to recent campaigns in New York, Boston, and Cleveland. But throughout Australasia, daily journals seem to

represent one of the normal methods of forming, expressing and guiding public opinion. For bad interests, as well as for good, the remark holds true. The labor press illustrates the evil influence and condition. For, as a rule, the labor press is intellectually weak, and, under ordinary conditions, it is inclined to present only one side of problems many-sided and most complex. Its editors, too, often seem to know among all books only the great work of Marx. They insistently urge their master's principles and the application of his methods. They serve to quicken excitement in labor crises, and they present workers' contentions, with a force which seems to approach violence, and with a narrowness which is as disheartening to the large-minded patriot as it is inflaming to the one-sided partisan.

The English colonies and foreign states have founded and maintained great journals, either daily or weekly. The *Times,* and the *Pioneer,* of India are preëminent. Among the papers of Australasia, which stand forth as exponents and leaders of public judgment are the morning and evening journals of Sydney, and of Melbourne, of Wellington and of Auckland. In a population of about seven millions, they worthily present and not inadequately represent the conditions, the hopes and the limitations of a new and advancing democracy.

VIII

GAMBLING

A primitive society is material, or materialistic. Its labors are largely manual. Its chief interests belong to the senses. Its achievements are found in the realm of the physical. Its virtues and its vices are related to the exterior. Its standards are based on the foot-pound. The pioneer mind is practical, direct in its processes, demanding immediate results, opportunist in its adjustments, empirical, given to action rather than bathed in ideas. It, of course, lacks the philosophic mind. It is not given to theory. Its methods are, and ought to be, pragmatic.

European civilization took on the forms of the Roman Empire, and was dominated by the spirit of the Church. Australian civilization neither accepted the political imperial form nor was moved by the ecclesiastical spirit. It was a conglomerate of classes and of individualities, both serious and thoughtless, composed of manifold forces industrial, commercial, pastoral, agricultural.

Into every pioneer society enter characteristic virtues and vices. Australian society is no exception. Of a single one of these vices do I write. I refer to the vice of gambling.

Gambling, is an old vice; and one of many forms, manifold forces, different causes, diverse conditions, and far-flung results. It is a personal vice which, in certain zones and realms, is unlawful, in other zones and realms, however, lawful, and in others still not against the law. The force itself has not infrequently been used for good purposes, such as supporting the commonwealth, building college dormitories, and doing other works which are ultimately of a high communal value. Common it is in every part of the world, from Pekin to Paris, from Lahore to London, it is more generally participated in, more generally suffered or condoned, than any of its companion vices. Its prevalence can hardly be exaggerated. Its allurements are as numerous as its prevalence is general. In no part of the world is it more common, even if less vicious, than in Australia.

There are those, and of good repute, who do not call gambling a vice. Many Australians confess, and possibly with a sense of pride, that they do gamble. "Yes," says an Australian of wide experiences, "the Australian man, woman and child dearly love a flutter on the ponies, . . . for much

the same reason as the King of England enters his horse in the Derby, the Chinese play fantan, the Hindoo, the Mexican, the highly respectable and sometimes religious Wall Street broker, the Klondyke miner, and every human with a drop of red blood in his veins, follows his own particular taste in the great game of chance. The only way Australia differs from all of these lies in the fact that a paternal Government takes the matter in hand and sees to it that the individual bettor—prince or peasant alike—gets a square deal in the big shuffle." [1]

Another Australian, commenting on the essence of these paragraphs, says: "Australians are guilty, but they don't want to be saved. We enjoy betting; betting with us is on the square; except the bookmakers, we have no professional gambling class; we have no underworld, in which gambling and thuggery go together. We have never heard or read of a police raid on a gambling joint in Australia; we have clubs where gentlemen may play cards for money, but these are not 'joints.'" [2]

With such interpreters, I have no present dispute. They offer the characteristic defense made in all parts

[1] Letter to the New York *Times* from Francis J. White, January 19, 1922, p. 16.

[2] Letter to the New York *Times* from an Australian, January 22, 1922, Section 7, p. 6.

of the world. The commonness of the practice of course is no justification to one to whom specific moral reasons are strong and conclusive. Just now, however, I am considering the causes of the practice, having little or no regard for ethical considerations. For the present purpose, the causes are of profounder and profoundest interest.

In Australasia perhaps the most usual form is found in horse-racing. The semi-legalized corporation known as "Tatts" represents its more insidious and its more public methods. The sums of money which are risked in horse-racing or in the constant "drawings," or "consultations" aggregate millions of dollars. The commonness of the passion is one of its wonders. The bets on horses, be they either numerous or large, or be they both numerous and large,—and they are both,—are gathered up from men and women of all sorts and conditions. The man of great wealth and large income finds that his manservants and his maidservants, his barber, his butcher, and candlestick maker, are like himself taking chances on the Cup. Leaving out the clergy, it can be said, with a nearer approach to the truth than is common in most statements touching social phenomena, that every one in the two great island-continents of Australia and New Zealand, bets and in some form gambles.

The causes of this universal dominance are both general and particular. Among the causes for gambling in all times and places is either the instinct or the will for taking a chance, or the willingness to get a reward larger than the expenditure, to gain something for nothing, more for less, most for least. Gambling too represents a sense of power, of judgment, of guessing rightly. It stands moreover for the social instinct. It means participation. It intimates a relationship, even if it be an antagonistic one, to others.

But, besides these general origins of the current passion, there are certain causes which especially belong to the life in the great South lands. The geographical or climatic causes are even more interesting and more significant than the fact itself.

One cause of the power of the passion lies in that omnipresent condition known as the weather. The Australian lives in an atmosphere of peril. The weather makes or unmakes him. The drought unmakes, the rain makes. If the skies become brass, the grass dies or is dead ere it has sprouted, the spring-holes and brooks become dry sands, the wheat fields settle into dust, the cattle and the sheep perish. There is no corn in the granary; and no money in the bank. Bankruptcies abound. Disaster of every sort lays its heavy hand on all. If the rain fall, the

grass becomes tall and of juicy herbage, the springs overflow, the harvest waves full-headed and heavy, the cattle are fat for the killing, the sheep are wrapped in round full fleece that blinds the eyes and sweeps the ground. Elevators bulge out with tens of thousands of bushels. Prosperity blesses the land. The farmer or herdsman can indeed afford to lose one harvest in four, and yet prosper. Yet whether a forthcoming season shall spell bankruptcy or prosperity, he knows not. To avoid the one, to promote the other, the Australian is powerless. He lives in an atmosphere of danger. He not only takes risks. He gambles on these risks. He bets on the weather.

The instinct of luck is thus created. The transfer of the interest to the racing stable is easy, some would say natural, even inevitable.

Horse-racing, both as a cause and a result of betting, has peculiar significance in Australia, by reason of the temperate climate. In many parts of the great land, the racing of horses can be had every day in the year. In many parts of the world, horse-racing is confined to one-half of the year. The time, therefore, for betting is greatly limited. In Australia, however, the opportunity is as long as the year, as well as large as the continent. The prevalence of horse-racing furnishes an occasion for the

exercise of the primitive, or acquired, instinct. The Australian likes a good horse—I was about to say, he loves a good horse. It is a feeling which belongs to the new man, and indeed to many men of an old civilization. Good horses are bred on the plains of Australia and of New Zealand. They are raced in every city. The Melbourne Cup represents a week of races. It is the "Fourth of July" celebration continued for a week. It is set for the first days of November. To the exhibition of 1920, on the borders of which I stood, about two hundred thousand people flocked. The occasion assembles one of the crowds of the world. Prizes amounting to hundreds of thousands of pounds are offered, and bets to the millions are made, lost, gained. The pools are many. The risks taken are small with some, and not small with others. The manner of conducting the business is complex, regular, and, in its working, apparently honest. The contagion is in the atmosphere. The passion is hot. Australia, from Darwin to Hobart, from Brisbane to Perth, holds its breath, whether the victim or agent be a spectator on the bench or a native of the "bush." Such a condition promotes betting.

The same instinct is nourished by the historical, as well as by the natural, condition. Australia had its large human beginning in the inrush of the gold

seekers of '51. Gold seeking and gold mining are occupations filled with tremendous risks. One blow of the pick, or a single turning-up of the shovel, may reveal wealth, great wealth. It may not—probably will not. But the seeker is lured on by the possibility. He lives the life of hope. To-day spells hunger. To-morrow will surely bring abundance. I have seen a prospector in Southwestern New Zealand, going on, on, on, ever lured by faith. Such a life is a gamble which is, with naturalness, transferred to the gaming table and to the ticket of the lottery.

The fourth item in the causative process relates to the lack of interests in Australian life. Australian life is a life typically commonplace. It is a land remote and lonely. With an area larger than the United States, it has a population smaller than is found in New York City. The condition is free from human excitement. It lacks interest and interests. Betting keeps interests alive, creating, promoting them. It sets society to thinking, to feeling, to talking. Adams, in the book from which I already have quoted, makes one of his characters ask: " 'What's out there?' " Another character replies: 'Out there?' 'Nothing—except Australia.' Then he slowly went on. 'Plains and scrub, and plains, and sand, and scrub and desert, and rocky outcrop,

and desert, and more desert, and, after hundreds of miles, the thin wire of the overland telegraph and a vague track winding near it, and a row of water-holes that once was a stream, and an occasional settlement, and an overland telegraph station, and a string of camels, and a few cattle and horses and scraggy goats, and a fence; and then hundreds of miles of loneliness and gum trees, and then the hump of the Macdonell Ranges in the middle of the continent, gaunt, bare, rounded rocks of mountains, with clear pools in the ravines, and a blacks' camp beside them; and then on to the sand ridges again, for hundreds of desert miles, and then, suddenly, Kalgoorlie, a modern city precariously tied to civilization by a railway line and hundreds of miles of water-pipes; then more sand, with gold beneath it, and forests of great trees, and miles and miles of gorgeous wild flowers—a patch of brilliant color that the inhabitants of Mars might be able to make out every time the earth turns this side to them—and then settlement, and Perth, and the ocean. That's all.' " [1]

Such a life cries alond for interests. Gambling gives them.

A still further fact is to be noted as a cause. The Australian is a happy combination of the fatal-

[1] "The Australians," by Arthur H. Adams, p. 152.

ist and of the casualist. He believes in a vast order or orderliness that neither poverty, nor wage, nor tears nor smiles can alter. "Things are as they are, and things will be as they will be," as said the great Butler. But let me add that the Australian recognizes that things are as they have been. Change is impossible. He is himself, by reason of, or despite, this interpretation, either a victim or the agent of a certain casualness which is at once charming and irritating. He believes in, and practices, a sense of luck. Cares do not rest on him as cares. Anxieties seldom afflict. He, this new Britisher, has come from a cold and foggy climate to this Mediterranean zone of balm and of genial winter suns. He feels that all is well with the world, and he is sure that all is as well with himself. An optimist, he believes that the dice will fall according to his will, that the right card will turn up, that his horse will win. If, to-day, luck is against him, there is to-morrow and the day after when it will be kind. Therefore he bets right and left, high and low, mortgaging his future in sums as large as, or larger than, he can afford.

I venture to think that another fact has some value as a cause of the current vice. It is the lack of certain religious and spiritual ideals in this new

and forthputting society. A most competent observer, a professor in the University of Melbourne, has said:

"The Australian has cast off the outworn theologies of last century and the humbug of early Victorian religious cant, but he has only developed in its place a non-rational skepticism which is utterly behind modern thought. The re-valuations of the spiritual elements of human life, which have so fruitfully occupied the last thirty years of religious speculation, have failed to reach him. The Australian, therefore, continues to treat with gentle derision a clerical type almost defunct, and a theology long ago discarded. The same over-eager repudiation of the old, in favor of a not altogether healthy new, is seen in the unfortunate moral laxity that has followed the rejection of the pruderies and stern restrictions of our puritanical forbears." [1] Such a society gives itself up to pleasures wrong, or half-wrong, or a quarter-wrong, with a freedom not belonging to the Puritans' community.

The forces which are summoned for fighting the evil are, it must be confessed, few and weak. The community is inclined to accept and even to make use of the mania. The proceeds which the Government

[1] "Australia: Economic and Political Studies. The *Australian Outlook*," by Meredith Atkinson, pp. 54–55.

gains—and they are not small—help to lessen the taxes.[1] The minister preaches sermons against the evil, but while he preaches he has some reason to fear that his Board of Deacons may have at least one member interested in to-morrow's race. Bishops issue encyclical letters against the communal and the individual offense, but anathemas are the more condemnatory in the earlier years of episcopal service than in the later. Condemnations are liable to lose force in the process of the suns.

The chief or the only force which, therefore, will elevate the people to the understanding of the viciousness of the whole scheme, and which will cure it, as far as any force will cure it, is Education. Given a wholesome community, healthy and healthful, intelligent and idealistic, gambling ceases as naturally as good play eliminates physical weakness. For the

[1] The Australian Commissioner in New York gives me in a personal note the following significant facts:—

Under Commonwealth legislation the sending of money to Tattersall's is illegal, but this institution is legalized under Tasmanian legislation. The latest statistics available show that in 1919 there were 32 Tattersall's consultations drawn, and the total amount invested was £790,000.

Each year there is a certain amount of money unclaimed on account of consultations within that year, and for some years this money was distributed amongst charities.

Under the Federal Income Tax, 14% of the gross prize money of lottery prizes, including Tattersall's, is collected

creation and nourishing of such a social order and civil society, education of every grade and form is the most promising and powerful force.

The general personal atmosphere, in fact, in which these causes operate is quickening to their forcefulness. This atmosphere is one of cheerfulness, gayety, vivacity, and of course comprehensively of sportiveness. The Australian is a good sport. He knows that he is and he prides himself on it. Gambling, as I have intimated, he regards as neither a vice nor a sin. It is, therefore, for him less disintegrating to character and less demoralizing to individual conduct and public welfare than if, accepting the Puritan interpretation, he indulged in it. He has little or no wish to be saved from what he, with or without justification, thinks of as a pastime. His attitude calls up the remark of Sir Henry Sumner Maine, made in his "Ancient Law," to the effect

for Federal revenue. The State Government of Tasmania charges stamp duty on each Tattersall's ticket, and also collects a percentage of the prize money.

The totalizator is in operation in 5 Australian states, the only exception being the case of Victoria. In the year 1920 the totalizator taxes collected in New South Wales amounted to £222,970.

In Queensland the totalizator tax for the year 1920–1921 amounted to £53,906. In Tasmania the tax in the year 1919–1920 amounted to £19,734. It is regretted that figures are not available in regard to the other states. The percentage of the totalizator tax varies in the different states.

that the greatest part of mankind has never shown a desire that its civil institutions should be improved after they have reached a certain external completeness. Perhaps a foreigner, even if he be of a Puritan extraction, should treat this pastime, followed in a placid atmosphere of happy sportiveness, either with indifference or in humor. At all events, he would prefer to be regarded as rather an interpreter of causes than a critic of procedure.

IX

STANDARDS

To that American, who asked a leading citizen of Australia, what language his people spoke, the title of this chapter will seem inaccurate. For the fact of standards implies intellectual and moral orderliness, personal proprieties and social fitnesses. These conditions, be it said, prevail in Australia and New Zealand in a degree not unlike that found in other parts of the English-speaking world.

Of all the standards belonging to orderly society, the standard of personal and civil liberty is perhaps the most fundamental. Its present condition represents a direct struggle of seven centuries, a struggle more regular and continuous on British soil than elsewhere, a struggle that finds its fullest development on the shores of the Southern seas. Of the four types of liberty, named by Lord Bryce in his "Modern Democracies," "civil, religious, political and individual," [1] the civil, political and in-

[1] "Modern Democracies," by Viscount Bryce. Vol. I, pp. 53–54.

dividual possess the minds and the wills of the people of New Zealand and Australia the more fully. Of the three, individual liberty is for this writing the most important. For, in no part of the world, is liberty, for and of and by the individual citizen, held dearer, or is it more unfettered. Yet two exceptions remain to be noted. One exception relates to the trade union. Through and over its members, the union does exercise the force of an absolute monarch. By joining it, the workman directly acknowledges a will outside his own, and one mightier, to which he is subject. The second exception is found in the political party. The political party draws close partisan lines. The rule that measures and the ruler that dominates is the so-called caucus. Its dominance is greater in Australia than in New Zealand, and its dominance, or the dominance of a similar organization, is a powerful restraint, or even compulsion, in the formal Australian government. (Of course, the essential system of the caucus is not confined to the government of the Southern lands.) With these two exceptions, however, the liberty of the individual citizen is perhaps as great as, if not greater than, is found in any other part. The principle, and the application of the principle, seem to embody the truth of the remark attributed to Archbishop Magee, as made many

years ago, that, "It is better for every man in England to go home drunk to-night, than for any man in England to have the right taken away from himself of going home drunk." The rights of the liberty of the individual citizen are regarded as both forces and conditions. The rights are here as elsewhere made more emphatic than are the duties and responsibilities arising from liberty.

The principle of equality, moreover, has become even more formally fixed as a standard than the principle of liberty. Equality refers, of course, unconsciously, to equality before the law of the individual citizen,—a sense in which the American Declaration of Independence uses this word of manifold meanings. In the South land, it is made also to refer to a social equality, in a sense more marked than usually obtains, and, in a sense, too, more marked than some interpreters would affirm should obtain. The social equality is indeed more evident than the natural. The worth of the standard rests on certain principles: (1) on the homogeneousness of the people, practically all being of British extraction; (2) on the identity of conditions in which and under which the people of the Commonwealth and of the Dominion live. For these people are similar in origin, and are flung together under similar conditions; (3) the equality is, furthermore, secured quite as

much by the process of lifting, as by the process of depressing, individuality. As one sees and knows the people of these continents, the conviction is assured that they have come to be larger and finer in character, and are achieving richer results than would have been possible for them remaining in the home of their ancestors. Opportunities for advancement are more numerous and more compelling. Incentives to effort are more quickening. Compensations are more immediate and liberal. The suddenness of the change of economic and social conditions nourishes in many a sense of humility; and in others there is no undue enlargement of the sense of self-importance or of arrogance. Social jealousies are less virulent, commercial rivalry less intense, and personal antagonisms less profound. The tendency to help one's neighbor and not to hate or hurt one's enemy, if there be an enemy, is more manifest. People have rather gone up on the foothills of an advancing racial progress, than retreated into the valleys of human depression or regression. Of course economic rivalries and antagonisms are not uncommon. But they are, nevertheless, consistent with individual fellowships and fitting social relations. The absence of great fortunes tends to promote sympathies of every type. The gulf dividing the employing and the employed classes is regrettably wide,

but it is less wide than that prevailing in England, and the separation is not usually marked by hatred. In fact, physical violence is a less frequent characteristic of the strikes of the South lands than is found in countries of a climate less salubrious. Moderate climates moderate human passions.

The third standard relates to the value and force of individuality. An ancient people transferred to a new world becomes, in a sense, a new people. An American, in the tenth generation of his ancestors who emigrated from England, three hundred years ago, has a manner and a speech, and even a physical form, quite unlike that which he probably would have possessed had he remained in Plymouth or Southhampton. The Australian has also developed an individuality which deserves to be called by a new name, if a new and fitting name could be coined. It is distinguished by personal independence, initiative, directness, and a general sense of power and of largeness. It is incorporated in a body long and lank and lean, alert, vigorous, athletic. Its speech is likewise its own. It is a speech in which vowels have their own special message. *A* becomes *ai,* or *i,* and *e* becomes *a.*[1] The words, thus pronounced, are

[1] In an Australian novel, two men, conversing, say:

"'They say, "It's a fine dy, Mr. Lee—fine for Austril-yer."' He laughed angrily. The doctor laughed with him, in perfect enjoyment.

spoken with the flatness of the American mid-west accent, and at times with an intimation of Yankee nasality. It is an individuality more akin to the American than perhaps is met with elsewhere. It is constantly said that the American soldiers found themselves more easily intimate and in better fellowship with Australian soldiers in the Great War than with those of any other part.

The standard of individuality suggests the standard belonging to the family. The family is the social unit. It is the fundamental element in civilized society. It is the origin and conclusion of the most important human relationships. But the family in Australia is rather a collection of individualities, more or less unrelated, rather than the fundamental social unit and formative force. In another Australian novel, it is said of an individual family:

"There was no family spirit, no family pride, no

"'Yes, you've made out a case against Wister's kids. That flat "a" of the Australian child is ugly.' . . . .

"'No, you speak as an Oxford man, Lee. There's quite a difference. Listen. That is what you said just now. Listen closely, and tell me how it must sound to the ear of the villager you laugh at.' He repeated slowly a remark Lee had made a minute ago: '"Yas. Do you consider it raight to lat mai boy hard with boys and gals laike Jim Wister's theyah, for instance?" That was what you said, and it isn't the Queen's English.'"

"The Ashes of Achievement," by Frank A. Russell, pp. 19–20.

family hearth. Each was an individual out on her or his own, without the least trace of racial consciousness. Nobody obeyed anybody else, but each was quite willing to oblige the other. Madge felt often that a puff of wind would blow the whole lot apart, never to reassemble again. And she had a suspicion that the Rich family was but one of a million families equally easy to disintegrate. It was a nation of roving atoms . . . and there was so much emptiness in which to rove without the chance of colliding with anybody or anything." [1]

"The Australian regards home as a convenient place for sleeping in and having breakfast at. Most Australian girls use their homes as business men use their clubs—and there is no sacredness about clubs." [2]

The individuality of Australian society develops into individualism. Individualism, important as it is in and of itself,—one of the most tremendous results of the democratic movement of the last four centuries,—is the foe of the unity of the family. The individual, as the family, has come to be regarded as the crown and the center of social and legal order. That result has already occurred among the peoples of the South lands which may occur in England and

[1] "The Australians," by Arthur H. Adams, p. 203.
[2] *Ibid.*, by Arthur H. Adams, p. 181.

in the United States in the next half century. The institution of the family, as a civil and social standard, has become seriously and fundamentally impaired.

The general standard of law and order is of the highest type. The contrast between the law and order of Australia and New Zealand and the lawlessness and disorderliness of the United States is highly favorable to the newest England of the Southern seas. Lynchings are unknown. Crimes against property and against person are infrequent. Homicides, the result of either criminality or carelessness, are less common than are found in populations of smaller size in the United States. The respect for law as an atmosphere, the respect for law as a body of statutes, is more akin to that obtaining in England than in America. One cause of this prevailing respect is the dominance of the English tradition. In both the United States, Australia and New Zealand, manners are in peril of being abrupt, over-direct, inconsiderate. But, in respect to the observance of law and the practice of civic orderliness, the newer and remoter land is the worthier. In fact, what may be called the national character of these peoples is marked by the noblest human elements. This national character is supported by and arises from as good a physical constitution as humanity offers. Its

intellectual movements represent the same divisions and subdivisions that belong to the race of the British Isles. It is also touched by a certain insularity more distinct than obtains in the earlier homes of the North and of the Irish Sea. The number of scholars and thinkers is small, but it is fine and noble. The rich men, the merchants, the pastoralists, the farmers, the manufacturers, as in most countries in the present generation, are not primarily intellectual. The workmen of the docks and of the mines are devoted to their unions and their guilds. The national character of these newer peoples is like the national character of the other peoples with a greater accent, however, on the material, the immediate, the emotional, and the pleasant.

Out of the national character spring the standards of national public life and service. These standards are not so high as in the great democracy of the United States, nor so high as reasoning leads one to expect or as political idealism compels one to demand. The ablest men do not seek election to the legislatures or appointments to executive places in the democracy of the South land. The absorption in their own callings is great. The distances to be traversed, to and from the capital cities, Melbourne and Wellington, are long, and the facilities for traveling are meager.

The prizes of public service make slight appeal to the thoughtful mind. The electors seem to prefer candidates of immediate utilitarian power and serviceableness to candidates of long and broad vision, inspired by a sense of high idealism. When I was in Melbourne, a contest was being waged between two men of these two types for membership in the State Legislature. One candidate, a philosopher in temperament and an author, a physician of large practice and of noble ideals, suffered defeat at the polls by a good man without idealism or intellectual interests. In the various governments of the States, of the Commonwealth and of the Dominion is found lacking an element of distinction, lacking also be it added in Washington, and in other democratic capitals. For the principle of equality prevails among the elected as among the electors. The government is rather more truly representative of the less thoughtful classes than of the contemplative and judicial. As in most countries, the ability of the courts is far superior to that of the legislatures. The prime ministers, as a body, and their executive officers, are characterized by elements which make for partisan leadership, for sympathy with the average man and the majority, and for respect for immediate effect rather than for those qualities which constitute states-

manship. Shrewdness working for to-day's success, rather than a vision of to-morrow's progress leading to the following day's achievement, seems to rule.

The standard of professional success is in essence not unlike that which constitutes the standard of public law and orderliness. This standard is probably at least as high among the engineers, mechanical, civil, electrical, mining, as among members of any other profession. Engineers trained in the universities and colleges of Australia and New Zealand are found in all parts of the world. One meets them in the silver mines of Peru and in the tin mines of Burmah. They represent a high type of achievement. But, in the callings of the physician and of the lawyer, a less worthy type seems to prevail in comparison to the type dominant in the historic democracies. For the gateway of these professions, as I have already pointed out, is not carefully guarded. A liberal education is not required. The student passes or may pass from his high school immediately into his professional preparation. Such a method inevitably results in low standards. The desire to make the conditions of admission harder is general and earnest among the better parts of society. In the United States the professional standards were, for almost three hundred years, low. Their recent lifting has given a distinct improvement to the char-

acter of the professions concerned. The improvement in the liberal education has resulted in the improvement in the technical education, and this improvement has given distinction to the whole body of technical practitioners. However, in the Commonwealth and in the Dominion, throughout the professional classes, the effect of the commandment of the labor union, "Thou shalt not excel," is, even if unconscious, a bad influence.

The standard of physical comfort and of personal happiness is in no part of the world higher than in Australia and New Zealand. The needs of the physical man are satisfied, and satisfied easily. There are regions in the two largest cities wherein are found the degradations and the deprivations of poverty and of social sin. But the degradations are not greater than are manifest in most big towns. The deprivations are less intense. The typical house, throughout Australia and New Zealand, is a five- or seven-room bungalow. It occupies a piece of land set aside for the owner's individual use. The front of the lot on which it stands is probably a garden of flowers, its back a garden of vegetables. The fruits and vegetables probably represent a greater variety than can be found in any part of the world.[1]

[1] In the garden of a citizen of Sydney, in the month of November, I saw growing potatoes, peas, beans, beets, lettuce,

The areas, over which cities are built, are wide. The large towns are located on the shore, giving the advantage of both sea and land. Out-of-doors throughout the year represents a life more inviting than is possible in the colder regions of changing seasons. The sufferings of cold and permanent poverty do not exist. The general spirit of helpfulness, of happiness, and of contentment is an atmosphere, persuasive and influential. Is it too much to say that it is always dawn in the Commonwealth of Australia or in the Dominion of New Zealand?

The standard of physical comfort and of happiness gives freedom for social experimentation. The good and the bad elements of a leisure class do not touch the society of the Southern seas. For, as in most new democracies placed in a new environment, that class is lacking. Individual careers are in the making. Individual fortunes or competencies are to be created. Individual families are to be founded and perpetuated. Civilization is to be wrought out. Institutions are to be laid. General agencies for human betterments are to be established. Leisure is first cousin on one side to indolence, and on the other side to intellectual and emotional appreciation of life's enduring satisfactions. Such leisure belongs

sweet corn, carrots, parsnips, onions, turnips; and among the fruits were peaches, apples, mandarins, oranges, gooseberries, strawberries, nectarines, and grapes.

to an order older and richer than the Australian. A social and literary House of Lords awaits foundation.

Yet, though a high standard of leisure be lacking, it is to be confessed that a high standard of efficiency is also lacking. The institutions, formal and informal, are not worked to their utmost. The laboring men, it would be generally and strongly acknowledged, do not function constantly or at a high rate of speed. The manufacturing section of the community is limited by the irregularity of the steamship service, a service of course necessary and essential in island-continents. The legislative part of the government is given to words. It is to the judicial part that one looks, and in which one finds, the best results which can be reached by wise methods. Throughout these lands of the Southern Cross prevails an inefficiency which one associates with the tropics. This inefficiency is joined with the social conditions which belong to the "limited output." When these two forces, or lack of forces, tropical indolence and industrial limitations, are united, the result is sadly inevitable, or inevitably sad. If only the cause of labor could know the splendor and the exultation of hard work! If only the cause of labor could hear and heed Carlyle's gospel. It is, however, never to be forgotten that Australia and New Zealand

are peopled by races who have come from the North into a Mediterranean climate. It has often been intimated that Australia may develop the characteristics of a Latin race, while New Zealand may still further develop the Anglo-Saxon strain. Such a change from North Sea to Mediterranean latitudes militates against efficiency. One of my friends said to me that, in the United States efficiency spells virtue, in Australia, crime. Perhaps both parts of the remark are equally true, or equally false. An Australian workman once said: "What pleases the boss is wrong. What displeases him is right." [1] Under such conditions in Australia and New Zealand, no less than in the American democracy, it is hard to secure and to maintain a high standard of efficiency.

One test and standard of a fine civilization fills a high place in the society and life of the South lands: it is the test and standard of tolerance. Tolerance is the virtue of forbearance, born either in part of indifference or in part of a genuine willingness to give credence to judgments and value to labors opposed to one's self. Beneath the Southern Cross the world is large, the land limitless, the sea wide. The

[1] A labor leader at Lawrence, Mass., is reported to have said:—"When the boss wants you on the job, it's time for you to get off the job." *Boston Transcript*, 26th April, 1922.

world, the land, the sea, are metaphors representing the general processes of man's thinking, feeling, choosing. Like the sea, too, public opinion is composed of, or is manifest in, changing waves and moving tides. Each is inclined to give to each and to all opportunities, the opportunities of rights, and all are inclined to recognize, though not in full degree, the duties, which are coördinate with rights, which belong to each and to all. Time, as well as space, moreover, is endless. Judgments, arrived at to-day, may to-morrow be set aside. The movement of thought is free. New Zealand and Australia cannot enforce, out of a long history, the duty and the right of tolerance. But they can offer teachings, perhaps equally impressive, drawn from the changing movements and conclusions of their present conditions, and immediate forces. Such is the type of tolerance prevailing. This tolerance is born, not of Milton's great argument for the freedom of the press, or of Locke's famous "Letter." It is born rather of the essential and practical, social and physical conditions of a new society. It is a very immediate power and method of thinking. It does not so much represent indifference as full adherence to one's own judgments, an adherence so complete that its possessor can well offer to allow to other beliefs equal

freedom. The standard of tolerance prevailing in the Australasian, gives hope for its spread throughout the whole, world.

When one sums up the value of these standards, the conclusion is one of optimism. The conclusion is born of the capacity of the human race for unmeasured improvement, a capacity which is at least as rich and deep and promising in the children of the Anglo-Saxon race as in any other people. As the last outpost of the Anglo-Saxon race, the people of Australia and New Zealand incarnate these promises in the highest degree. One should think of these island-continents in terms of the centuries and not of the years, should think of them as the "Far East" thinks of itself as having an eternity to live in. It is the third day of the creative week in these continents. The day is now passing, but the day is also a prophecy of a long to-morrow. It is a prophecy which Sir Joseph Cook, Treasurer of the Commonwealth, well expressed in a speech presenting this budget for the year 1921–22:—

"Our land is the brightest, and its people are, to say the least, among the most resourceful and successful in the world. Another excellent year is in sight, so far as our great staple industries are concerned. If only, therefore, we put our backs into our tasks, march

abreast forward, never doubting clouds will break, and let our 'courage mount with the occasion,' we may face the future with the certainty that it holds for us a rich harvest of good things. And though the passage may conceivably not be an easy and speedy one, the spirit of our race will triumph in the end." [1]

[1] Parliamentary Debates, 29th September, 1921.

X

FASCINATIONS AND SATISFACTIONS

Australia and New Zealand are full of charm. They are rich in fascinations. These fascinations are neither those of the tropical palm-crowned Tahiti or Fiji, nor those of the langorous Marquesas, nor yet those of the diverse-peopled Hawaii. Though colored by certain unique elements of nature, these fascinations are something far more important than physical and atmospheric conditions and forces. They are the fascinations of the races of men, even though the island-continents are having, and are determined to have, only one race. Certain fascinations, however, unite both the charm of nature and of man.

One element of these fascinations lies in the remoteness of Australia and New Zealand, and their consequent security. These two island-continents are themselves twelve hundred miles from each other, a distance as great as that lying between the Hudson and the Mississippi, and this distance, too, is shorter than most journeyings. It is 2227 miles from Melbourne to Suva in the Fiji Islands. From Suva to

Honolulu, it is 2780 miles. From Honolulu to San Francisco, it is 2100 miles. It is 1800 miles from Wellington to Raratonga in the Cook Islands. It is 630 miles from Raratonga to Papeete, and from Papeete to San Francisco, it is 3660 miles. From Sydney to Lautoku in the Fijis, the distance is 1700 miles. From Sydney to Calcutta, it is 5866 miles. A week's journey in these parts seems to be thought of as no more significant than a day's journey in New England. Such an aloofness creates and promotes a sense of security. The security gives a distinct sense of charm.

This sense of security is also enhanced by the climate of these island-continents. Taken all in all, leaving out Queensland and the northern part of the Central Northern Territory of Australia, the climate of Australia, and the entire climate of New Zealand, approach as closely to perfection as the world offers. The winters are not cold, and the summers, with a few exceptions, are not torrid. The weather has coolness without coldness, and warmth without heat. Such a condition cannot fail to produce a contentment with the weather as rare as it is satisfying.

The security thus gained by geographical remoteness and by climate gives a freedom that belongs to children. Anxieties are absent. The call of work is not insistent. "One should not work between

meals," I heard a dock loafer say. The pleasure of doing what one wants to do challenges one to play. The ought of labor is not felt. The obligation to toil is not realized.

The sense of satisfaction too is deepened by the richness of the soil, and other gifts of nature. Life is easy. Acres are many and cheap. No one need be hungry, and few are. The call for laborers is constant, and, although at present unemployment is rife, the supply does not meet the demands. The cry for meat is as seldom heard as the cry for bread. The cry for bread is very seldom heard. Australia and New Zealand could feed many peoples out of their vast herds and flocks, and from their endless wheat fields. In such a condition, man comes to his own with full confidence and happiness.

A further cause of the fascination of these island-continents lies in the variety of the landscape. New Zealand is superior in this respect to the larger island. But the larger island is yet rich. Plain and mountains are intermingled. The sea line is picturesque. The approach to the Harbor of Sydney and to the Harbor of Hobart in Tasmania rival the approach to the many-islanded Hongkong and to Capetown. Yellowstone Park has its rival in Rotorua of Northern New Zealand, and Mt. Cook, of Southwestern New Zealand, is as grand and sublime

as many parts of the Rocky Mountains. The Blue Mountains of Australia, in turn, are a worthy companion of the most picturesque parts of the Alleghenies.

But, as I have intimated, the fascination and satisfactions which belong to man chiefly are far more captivating than those belonging to nature. The human fascinations spring from certain practical conditions. The British race is not one of theories. It is a pragmatic people. Pragmatism seems to flower forth in peculiar fullness in Australasia. The first duty of a man in a new continent is to do his work for his immediate day. Problems abound in Australasia, and the human problems are most constant and insistent. These problems are economic, political, social, religious. The land and the nation are in the making. It is still engaged in the process, and the process lies very far from gaining the product. It is yet in the beginning of the running, far off from the goal. It has momentum, much momentum. It also has movement. Such forcefulness applies to all the diverse problems. Of these problems, the economic is among the most important. This problem is largely summed up, as I have frequently said, in the three demands, for higher wages, for shorter hours, for better conditions. This problem it is attempted to solve by laws economic and by

laws other than economic. Such attempts result in discomfiture of all kinds. Strikes abound, hundreds or thousands of them of all sorts and conditions. These strikes are seldom accompanied, although sometimes, by violence. The capitalist or the employer is, on the whole, rather indifferent. The Government is generally and essentially a labor government, though the labor party has been losing power since 1914. The capitalist is inclined to say, "Let the laborer have his innings! He will at last come to his senses!" For the present, he feels himself helpless. The ship owner prefers to tie up his ships to running them at a loss and a risk. The mine owner prefers to close his mines rather than work them also at a loss. The seriousness of the condition is well voiced in a copy of *The Bulletin* —that unique journal—in which it is said:—"If we are unable to compose our industrial differences within a reasonable period and get down to steady toil and an eager assimilation of knowledge and skill, the right to do so is likely to pass from us forever." [1] In its solution of economic problems and its application of economic laws, the Government runs railroads, and banks, conducts tourists' business, mines coal, owns and runs steamship lines. It represents, in many respects, the socialized state.

[1] The Australian *Bulletin*, Jan. 5, 1922, p. 6.

Australia and New Zealand need to learn, and will eventually learn, the lesson,—and will finally do the duty,—which has been well expressed in a salutatory message of the Australian *Bulletin* of the 5th of January of this present year 1922, regarding the use of all the powers which science offers. "But," says *The Bulletin,* "it will not do it without getting workers; it will not get workers in any numbers without industries; and it will not get industries on the grand scale till it gets something approximating to the friendly coöperation between worker and employer which exists amongst the proletariat nations which are our rivals."

All such attempts are to the looker-on, in Sydney and Melbourne, in Auckland and Wellington, full of fascination. It may be the fascination of anticipated success. It may be the fascination of anticipated and inevitable failure. But it is always a fascination of deepest interest.

To the fascination of this economic problem is to be added the fascination of the potentialities of the geographical and social condition. Australia can support two hundred millions of people, half as many as there are in China, and New Zealand, fifty million people. Australia and New Zealand could better feed the three hundred million people of India than they are now fed. Egypt was once the

granary of the Roman world. Australia could be an equally good granary for the European states. In physical respects, the people are happy, contented. Prosperity attends. I presume more meat is eaten (as more poetry is written) in Australia than by any similar population of the globe. Australia is primarily settled by the lower third of the English third estate—New Zealand by the upper third. The lower third has lifted itself to the middle or higher part, and the upper third has not fallen. The Australian has made more of himself than he could if he had remained in England or Scotland. In those urban and suburban areas are found no slums, and few or no tenement houses. Each family has its own little house and vegetable and flower garden. The condition represents individuality and collectivism. The Australasian world faces the rest of the world, both as an individualistic, and, in a sense, as a communistic, state. It is happy in the prospect, and the beholder finds himself fascinated by the island-continent outlook.

In the fascination and satisfaction of this condition, there is found what I shall call casualness. It has no, or few, Puritan elements. It shows small self-restraint. It is imbued with freedom of thinking, of interpretation, of doing. A sense of the excusable abounds. A judgment prevails that the Ten

Commandments are rather severe. The moral touch is light. The vices of the islands are the vices that belong to all continents. Yet these vices do not seem to be so disintegrating to character as in many other parts.

In the months which I spent in Australasia, I was frequently compelled to stop my thinking and feeling, and to say to myself, "These people are not the sort I have lived with for many years. They are not grown up. They form a young nation. They are living for the day. They have forgotten yesterday. They are not thinking of to-morrow. They are in a state of constant casualness." Their lack of plan and of mature seriousness, their taking things as they come and not their active going to things as they are or ought to be, their want of a sense of responsibilty, their satisfaction with themselves, and their contentment with their environment, their simple happiness, are all the marks of a young nation. These elements, and many more, form one of the fascinations of this new people.

But it might be a more correct interpretation to say that Australasia is not a young nation; but a nation of men and women who have come into their maturity without that discipline and training which usually belong to first and early years either national

or individual. They lack that sense of restraint, that respect for conventions, that settled condition of mind and heart and character which obedience is supposed to give. They are children grown to man's estate, yet they are not orphans. But they have not, however, been brought up. They have "just growed" as the day and the place prompted.

In particular, in the interpretation of their childhood, this most interesting people transmute work into play, and play into work. Work usually is an end, and upon it are fixed the mind and the will of the worker. His interest in the means to the end springs from his thought of the importance of the end itself. Play has no end. Its interest is the play, the game itself. The Australian changes the process to the play as an end, victory—and he works hard for the winning. To him also work has little meaning and significance, and he dawdles at the process of doing, playing hard or not, as the spirit moves.

The fascinating characteristics of the young nation are manifest in many ways and forms. Many debates in the State and the Commonwealth Parliament are concerned with the unimportant. The compulsion of the trivial has constant illustration. Such unimportance is not, however, remote from other Parliamentary halls! But the characteristic

seems especially to belong to Melbourne and other capitals. The methods of conducting these debates suggest the trifling. The members of both Houses take their discussions in the mood of youth. The Ministers of the Cabinet impress one as lacking the long vision. Certain Courts of Justice—but by no means all—are inclined, in common with certain courts of many countries, to think of transgression of the law as a mistake, not as a crime, and to grant remissions which seem to an on-looker as types of remissness.

Of course, such an interpretation is not to be taken too comprehensively. I am pointing out only a single characteristic, and a characteristic which does not belong to many of the seven millions of people. There are, of course, men and women of strength, of wisdom, of vision, of a sense of world-relations, who would add force and charm and give progressiveness to any society.

This sense of casualness is illustrated by the fact that the new Commonwealth and the Dominion have never been disciplined by war on their own shores. In the South African War, as well as in the World War, their enthusiasm for the Empire was quite as great as was found in any part of all the domains. Martin Place in Sydney was as loyal as Trafalgar Square. The proportion of Australian sons who did

not return from France and Gallipoli was no less than one in every ten. One-tenth of the population of New Zealand entered the service. It was an inspiring sacrifice. But such sacrifice in a war seven thousand miles away as in South Africa, or twelve thousand miles away as in France, does not give to a nation that maturity of thought, or that solid strength of disciplined character, which is given by a war on one's own soil, or by a war so near that its guns can be heard every hour, or by a war in which the bombarding of airplanes belongs to one's own city every night. The race as a race, the people as a people, therefore, lack the seriousness which immediate war normally creates.

The last fascination of which I shall write belongs to the charm of the personalities of these cities and of these plains. Of this fascination I am not so free to write as I wish I were. I now limit myself to two, and to two only. One of the two is Hughes,[1] the

[1] Rt. Honorable William Norris Hughes, Privy Councillor, 1916; King's Counsel, 1919. Prime Minister of Australia since 1915. Member of Parliament for Bendigo in Federal Parliament of Australia. Born in Wales, 25 September, 1864. Educated in Llandudno Grammar School, and St. Stephen's Church of England School, Westminster; Pupil Teacher, St. Stephen's Church of England School. Mr. Hughes came to Australia in 1884; engaged in various occupations; elected to State Parliament of New South Wales for Lang Division of Sydney, 1894; reëlected three successive Parliaments, resigned upon election to 1st Federal Parliament for West

Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth. For, not only has he been, and will continue to be—for a time at least—the great head of the Commonwealth, a world-figure, but he also has a distinct personal power. He was a commoner engaged for a time in manual work, whence he graduated into school teaching. From school teaching, he ascended or descended, into politics. The Sydney *Bulletin* calls him "the man who should have been an actor." Under labor governments and nationalist governments, he has kept his power. Born in Wales he could properly be called an Australian Lloyd George. He is a good pilot. He knows the sea in which he sails. He meets opposing waves without breaking his craft. But some say his course has been taken at the expense of his promise respecting the chart he proposed to follow. He turns the wheel of his polit-

Sydney, on Labor Party's platform; Minister for External Affairs, 1904; Chairman of Royal Commission on Navigation Bill; Delegate to Imperial Navigation Conference, 1907; member of Imperial Cabinet and delegate to Paris Peace Conference; member of Gray's Inn; Grand Officer de la Légion d'Honneur; Doctor of Civil Law, Oxford; LL.D., Cardiff, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow; admitted to New South Wales bar; organized Maritime Unions; General Secretary of Wharf Laborers; President of Carters' Union, New South Wales; President of Waterside Workers' Federation; Attorney-General, 1908–09, 1910–13, and since 1914. Publications: brochure (with W. T. Dick) on Federation of Australian States; Case for Labor. *Who's Who in England,* 1922.

ical ship swiftly, sharply. His mind is well stored, and its working swift and acute, always going out to a specific point. He is accused of having a mind so acute that it approaches trickiness. In a campaign he is determined to win. His is one of the most facile minds I know. He gives and receives heavy blows, asking no odds, and, at times, giving none. An autocrat, and very far from being an aristocrat, he has a force of will equal to his fullness of mind. Believing in the nation of Australia, he seeks to elevate the nation to a place with the nations of the world. For Premier Hughes has a conception of Australia in relation to the world. He unites certain elements of narrowness and of breadth. In a public letter, he says:

"The English-speaking family of nations owns as its most populous and its most powerful asset the people of the United States, and the union of that family in its completest strength and its greatest influence for good is only possible in so far as the nations of the British Empire and the American nation are united in effort and purpose and aim. No finer task is available to the worker in any field than that of attempting to give practical effect to this great ideal of the consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon peoples into permanency of friendship. For myself, at all events, I know of no political aspiration likely to

have more important result upon the world or to be to it of more lasting value, and it is for this reason that I have urged, wherever I have found opportunity, the wisdom—indeed the necessity—of a close understanding between the United States and Australia, and have encouraged wherever possible the growth of the friendship of our two peoples, their knowledge of each other's problems, and the development, as a result, of mutual relations of esteem and good will." [1]

What Hughes is to the Commonwealth of Australia, Massey [2] is, and possibly more, to New

[1] "The Hope of the Future," by Edward E. Eagle, pp. XX–XXI.

[2] Rt. Honorable William Ferguson Massey, Privy Councillor. 1914; Honorary LL.D., Edinburgh, 1917; Prime Minister of New Zealand since 1912; born in Limavady, County Derry, 26 March 1856; Educated in Public Schools and Secondary Schools at Londonderry, and went out in 1870 to New Zealand to join his parents, who had emigrated with the Nonconformist settlers, 1862; followed farming pursuits, and eventually settled at Mangere near Auckland; was early associated with local government, and at different times held positions of member of the Road Board, Chairman of the School Committee, President of the Auckland Agricultural and Pastoral Association, President of the Farmers' Club, and so forth; entered New Zealand Parliament as member of Waitemata, 1894; member for Franklin since 1896; Chief Opposition Whip, 1895; Leader of the Opposition, 1903; has held office as Minister of Lands, Labor, Agriculture, Industries, and Commerce; a representative of New Zealand, Imperial War Cabinet Conference, 1917–18; grand officer of the Order of the Crown of Belgium; *Who's Who in England*, 1922.

Zealand. At any rate, he fits the New Zealand community, at least quite as well as Hughes the Australian. New Zealand is a farming community. Massey is a farmer with at least certain characteristics of the rural mind and manner. He might be described as a colonial John Bull. He is the master of the Dominion quite as completely as Hughes is the autocrat of the Commonwealth. With a mind less disciplined than that of Hughes, he pursues a more consistent public policy. The proportions of the simple parties of the Dominion may change, but he has, for years, maintained his seat as head of the Cabinet. He is, like Hughes, a world-man, and his Maoriland he wishes to keep close to the world. He recognizes that it is "enormously important" that, "if there is to be understanding and mutual sympathy between two nations, the people, the potential forces of the nations should know more about each other." [1]

Neither Hughes nor Massey represents the philosophic type of prime minister. In fact the philosophic type of prime minister is unknown, even in Westminster, except in one instance. For a prime minister can hardly take the long view as his chief view. If he looks at the stars too hard, or too long, he is liable to fall and to cause his party to fall into

[1] "The Hope of the Future," by Edward E. Eagle, p. XXVII.

the ditch which his party foes are ever digging for him. For parliamentary government, opportunism is more important than philosophic statesmanship. Of course, the ideal is the uniting of philosophic statesmanship with attention to immediate details and responsibilities.

There are other great men in these two island-continents (of whom I shall write in the next chapter) also of fascination, of charm, and of power. They have an interest also for the interpreter almost as great as is possessed by the men at 10 Downing Street. If their responsibilities are not so weighty, so world-wide, or so lasting in influence, yet their responsibilities are of the same character.

XI

THE HUMAN PRODUCT

The best results of a new civilization, as of an old, are primarily human. The human results are far more significant and important than the results seen in the victories over the forces of nature. These human results are, for the present purpose, manifest in two forms: those embodied in what may be called the average man and those found in the great man.

The average man in Australia and New Zealand is, and represents, a high type of human character. The average man is strong in body, alert and vigorous in every part of his physical being. His health is sound, and is promoted by many forces and conditions. Climate is a constant and gentle minister. Laws touching pure foods, and, so far as he needs them, pure drugs, are a defense. Out-of-doors invites him, an invitation reinforced by his own British instincts and disposition.

The average man is intelligent rather than in-

tellectual, versatile rather than consistent and continuous in his thinking and investigation, tolerant rather than tenacious, endowed rather with force than with caution or refinement, possessed of forthputtingness rather than with self-restraint, with energy than with patience, with a sense of opportuneness than with long vision, with courage than with courtesy, with individualism than with deferences, with a regard for things rather than for persons, with gayety than with gravity, with imagination than with logical power, with enthusiasm than with industry, with impulsiveness than steadiness, with intensity or immediate concentration than continuity of service, with shrewdness than with disciplined reasoning, and with an ambition for immediate results than with the statesman's and scholar's respect for the future. He is open-minded, except in labor discussions. He has small respect for the expert in civil affairs, his lack of respect being not dissimilar to that obtaining in certain parts of the present Russian government. He believes in liberty of every sort, civil, economic, personal, a liberty for all conditions of men, his belief leading him, too, into an excessive individualism. He has a sense of public duty, but it is less developed than obtains in a like liberal-minded democratic Switzerland. His sense of class spirit is strong, too strong, especially in

labor matters. His instincts and predispositions are usually sound—and among the best examples of these instincts are his ideals for personal and communal welfare. He has good manners, but a bad manner. He receives high wages, and he constantly and vociferously wants better ones. He urges, on the basis of feeling and of thinking, that capital is getting a too large share of profit and labor a share too small. He is a member of neither the peasant class of the country nor of the proletariat class of the State. He is neither rich nor poor, but just comfortably off. He neither has the surplus in abundance, nor does he fear future lack. He votes and incarnates and practices humaneness, but he is ignorant in both intellect and character of humanism. He is more religious in instinct and in informal assent than ecclesiastical in belief and practice. He is the incarnation of happiness above most men. He is an optimist in his enthusiasms, hopefulness, and in a sense of achievingness. Among his less attractive qualities is a bumptiousness that a fellow citizen has described as follows: "They speak disparagingly of things from abroad, and are too complacent in claiming for Australia the foremost place in every activity." [1] He is a unique union of cockiness and

[1] "Australia: Economic and Political Studies. The *Australian Outlook*," by Meredith Atkinson, p. 12.

arrogance and of subservience to the judgments of the best people of the home land. Among the less worthy of the elements of his character as elsewhere intimated, is dependence on the State for his personal and domestic prosperity and happiness, and not on his own initiative and power of permanent achievement.

In this interpretation of the human product, moreover, one is not able to assign so high a place to the purely intellectual forces and conditions. For, as Froude says, in his "Oceana": "The deficiency of the Sydney colonists is one which they share at present with a large part of the civilized world—that they have no severe intellectual interests." [1] Professor Atkinson also says: "The average Australian holds in slight regard achievements in the sphere of the intellect. Something of this is due to the materialism natural to a young country, but more is traceable to the absence of the highly cultured society, intense social life and great educational institutions of Europe and America. In their anxiety to repudiate the bad social conditions and undemocratic thought of the Old World, Australians often make the mistake of neglecting the high cultural value of European civilization." [2] This interpretation is some-

1 "Oceana," by James Anthony Froude, p. 191.

2 "The New Social Order," by Meredith Atkinson, p. 272.

what extended and confirmed by Blunt, who, under date of 1899, says: "Yesterday I was in London and met my friend Harry Brand, just back from Australia, where he has been Governor of a colony. He found it dull work among people without literature, art, or culture of any kind, except a taste for bad music. He was offered to stay on as Governor-General, but wisely refused." [1] The remark of Blunt is at once partially true and partially false. Australia has, in the twenty and more years, which have passed since Blunt wrote, made beginnings in the fields in which the wise diplomatist declares she is woefully lacking. A visit to the art gallery of Adelaide and an inspection of the libraries of Sydney give evidence that art is not entirely wanting, that the creation of literature has begun, and that the appreciation of literature by the best people is as fine as is found in the better societies of the world. In the clubs of Melbourne, of Sydney, and of Adelaide one finds gentlemen of the type which is recognized in the best clubs of cities of a like size in the entire world.

But it is to be acknowledged that the typical Australian and New Zealander is rather given to action than to reflection, to doing than to thinking, and to the acceptance of the fact than to reasoning

[1] "My Diaries," by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Vol. I, p. 321.

about the causes or consequences of the fact. He represents in certain circles the solid in intellect, but an intellect touched by the gayety and happiness of the Mediterranean nations. The result is a human mixture mental, moral, and esthetic, a new and unique incarnation. If the new Britisher of the South Seas has less intellectual soberness than the old Britisher of the North Sea, he has more facility and agility. He has less intellectual gravity than his forefathers, but he has more direct and swifter processes. He carries less weight;—his shoulders are straighter;—his feet move faster.

The human product of Australasia, compared with the human product of the United States, quickens an interpretation of both likenesses and contrasts. The two countries, or, if one wishes, the three, are of a common origin and apparently of a common destiny. They dwell on opposite sides of the greatest ocean. If the Mediterranean was the scene of the earlier civilization, and the Atlantic the scene of the mediæval,—the Pacific apparently is to become the scene of the future. A common element lies in the foundation of character. The civilization of the nations on both sides of the Pacific Ocean is a civilization based primarily on human character and not on material or physical force. In this character are lodged at least three great elements—

reasonableness, moral earnestness, and good will. "Come, let us reason together" has been, and is, a cornerstone of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Greater Britain and the United States are building on this foundation, on the Pacific, as well as on the Atlantic, coast line. Moral earnestness, too, is quite as essential and common as the intellectual deposit. Life is not interpreted as either a Roman holiday or a Teutonic military parade, but rather as a condition for the broad understanding of and the faithful doing of duty. Moral earnestness, moreover, is one of the first cousins of good will—personal, national, international. Good will is the condensed expression of the Confucian and the Christian commandment of loving your neighbor. Such neighborliness is to be regarded as national, international, and racial, as well as individual.

But certain contrasts also emerge. In business concerns, the methods of the Mother Country prevail in the newest England, as they do not in New England. Prescription has more value among the merchants and community leaders in Australasia than in the United States. Advancement on the basis of seniority or length of service is emphasized and followed. The common man, it is said, has a wider field in America than in the island-continents. The university man in business, too, is declared to be

free from certain prejudices in Chicago and New York, which he is obliged to suffer in Sydney, Melbourne, and Auckland. It is also recognized by even the Australians that the opportunities are far more numerous in a population of a hundred millions than in one of one-twentieth the size. The large opportunities seem to increase in a higher ratio than do the means of filling them.

By the side of the average man of Australia and New Zealand, as a part of the human product, stands him whom we call the great man. For the great man is not lacking. The list is a short one, but it is weighty. The strongest force in the training of the great man is the university. Throughout the English-speaking world, it is a laudable pride to find in the universities causes and conditions which make for the creation and the nourishing of great men. Oxford and Cambridge have educated clergymen, jurists, authors, and statesmen, for unnumbered generations, and will continue to educate them for generations also unnumbered. In the United States it is recognized that the leaders in church, state and society, have been the sons of the colleges or universities. A like condition prevails in Australia and New Zealand. The facts and figures are indeed less impressive. For the population is far smaller, and the period of time far shorter. It is

also to be observed that not a few of the great men of Australasia are obliged to be content with a secondary relation to the universities of the South land. For they are only by adoption, of either service or association, members of these universities. They are scholastic, as they are personal, immigrants. But, be it added, the universities of these lands have sent forth as many and as great men as they have adopted and assimilated.

Nations and universities which have helped to educate and to train scholars and teachers like Rutherford, Elliot Smith, and the Braggs, represent the noblest and most enriching forces of any civilization, be it either old or new.

For Rutherford, Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics and Director of the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge, recipient of the Nobel Prize for Chemistry, of service in the great field of radio activity,—which no ability of a layman can properly interpret,—was born in New Zealand, was educated at Nelson College and Canterbury College of Christchurch, and in the University of New Zealand. Lady Rutherford, it may be added, is also a daughter of New Zealand, having her early home in the unique and most impressive little city of Christchurch. The Professor of Anatomy in University College of the University of London, Crafton Elliot Smith, who

interprets anatomy, in part, in terms of anthropology, was born in New South Wales and was educated at its University of Sydney. But perhaps the most outstanding example of the worth of the new land in giving birth and education to great men is found in the case of the Braggs, father and son. The elder was Professor at the University of Adelaide for twenty-two years, from 1886 to 1908, and his son, William John, born in Adelaide, was educated in its University, as well as in its preparatory school, St. Peter's. In the year 1915, the Nobel Prize was conferred upon them for their coöperative work on the X-ray.

The examples I thus give relate largely to scientists. But classicists are also among Australasia's children. Chief among them is Gilbert Murray, born in Sydney, although leaving Australia at eleven years of age.

Nor does one forget the brief, sad experience of the Arnold family in New Zealand and in Tasmania. It was an experience begun by Thomas Arnold, younger son of the Rugby master and bearing his name, an experience born of the exultation of an English youth in the tumultuous '40's, and ending, after a trying life as a farmer near Wellington and after service in the organization of primary education in Tasmania, in a sad return to England in

1856. In Hobart was born his first child, now known as Mrs. Humphrey Ward. I might also refer to George E. Morrison, who was born in Victoria, and who for many years was the chief British Advisor to the Chinese Empire.

Australasia has also won to herself great men born elsewhere, a condition quite as marked as sending forth her own sons. Among such names are David, Professor of Geology in the University of Sydney, who led the party which reached the south magnetic pole in the great Shackleton expedition in 1907–09; Sir John MacFarland, Chancellor of the University of Melbourne; Masson, son of Masson of Edinburgh, the biographer of Milton, himself great in the field of Chemistry; Sir James Barrett of Melbourne, author and scientist, wise interpreter of the relations of the State to the higher education, and of the higher education to the State; President Jethro Brown of Adelaide of the Industrial Court; Chief Justice Stout of New Zealand;[1] William Mitchell,

[1] The following items represent not only the elements of a great career, but also are representative of similar careers among the leaders of New Zealand and Australian society: Honorable Sir Robert Stout, K. C. M. G., created 1886; has been Chief Justice of New Zealand since 1899; is Chancelor of the University of New Zealand; became a New Zealand Barrister in 1871; was a member of the Provincial Council, Otago, 1872; was Provincial Solicitor, 1872–76; member of the General Assembly, 1875, Attorney-General 1878–79; minis-

Chancellor of Adelaide University; and Maclaurin, who, though born in Scotland, received his preparatory education in Auckland, and later was Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of New Zealand, afterwards becoming President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Perhaps the most outstanding man who, in a brief sojourn of eight years, most deeply influenced the history of New South Wales and so of Australia, is Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke. He came to Australia in 1842, under advice of London oculists (poor advice), in order to relieve a weakness of eyesight. He returned to England in 1850 for the primary reason of the health of Mrs. Lowe. In this period, however, the abilities which, after his return, made him a great figure in English politics, found their first, and almost full, realization. In this time, he aided in the establishment of self-government, in putting an end to the transportation of criminals to New South Wales, in the creation of the Colony of Victoria, in laying the foundations for national and unsectarian education, and in the settlement of the yeomanry on the public lands. It was a great result which he won: won through his speeches, through his service in legislative bodies, and through

ter for Lands and Immigration, 1878–79; was Premier, Attorney-General and Minister of Education, 1884–1887; *Who's Who in England*, 1922.

his writings. In securing these results, he showed in the early time the same qualities which made him, in the opinion of Lord Bryce, "the equal in oratory and the superior in intellect of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone." [1] His speeches in Sydney were the greatest of his time, and were of the type which, as Bryce says, later "produced a greater impression in the House of Commons, and roused stronger feelings of admiration and hostility in the country, than any political addresses had done since 1832." [2] His power as a journalist was first shown also in Sydney, and was of the same order which made his leaders subsequently and for many years in the London *Times* of great influence. The changes, too, which he helped to bring about in Australian politics were quite akin to those which he later helped to secure in England. "Robert Lowe, as much as Disraeli and Gladstone, may in a sense be called an author of the tremendous change which has passed upon the British Constitution since 1866, and the extent of which was not for a long while realized." [3] In his brief sojourn in Australia, he gained a considerable fortune, and a more than considerable number of enemies. Life in England was, in a sense, a

[1] "Studies in Contemporary Biography," by James Bryce, p. 293.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

lengthening out of his life in Australia, as seen in his service as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as a great political and journalistic force. His decline in influence and in personal power began in 1873. His life in Australia was like his life in England: he fought a fight. It was to him a good fight. "His eight years had been indeed one long battle against Colonial Secretaries, Governors, Society, Squatters, Emancipists—one unceasing battle. But, with absolute truth he could have declared that he had drawn the sword only for the well-being of the people to whom he would become little more than a passing stranger, and for the future greatness of the country that he was never again to behold." [1]

These and many more statesmen and scholars whom one could easily name, represent, both in their service and in their personality, as noble a condition as could usually be found in any similar society throughout the world. Their constructive aims and their scholarly and human endeavors are as worthy though not as numerous and commanding as can be found elsewhere. They represent and they constitute the highest leadership. In proportion to their numbers, their power is great. They form a leadership which democratic society and govern-

[1] "Life and Letters of Viscount Sherbrooke," by A. Patchett Martin, Vol. I, p. 405.

ment is charged with neither creating nor nourishing. The charge is, of course, only half true. Australasia has created and nourished a noble educational and communal result. Its great men would be great anywhere. This result is quite as evident in the university and in the other higher circles as in any similar society of equal numbers. It represents one of the greatest achievements of the Anglo-Saxon race of the last hundred years. It stands for a civilization founded on Truth and on Duty. It bears out what Lord Rosebery said at the Congress of the Universities of the Empire, in the year 1913;

"So far as you gentlemen in your different Universities can fulfil your task of sending out men—I care less about their brains than their character for the purpose I am speaking of—you are rendering by far a greater service to the Empire than anybody else within the Empire can render." [1]

[1] "Twin Ideals," by Sir James Barrett, Vol. I, p. 204.

XII

CONTRIBUTIONS TO BE EXPECTED TO THE WORLD'S CIVILIZATION

Hegel pictures the Universal Spirit as moving in its progress from nation to nation, in order to realize its full self-consciousness in its successive stages. To the practical philosopher and interpreter, however, the consequent result to the nation in which the Universal Spirit for the time dwells, is quite as important as the enlarging self-consciousness of the Spirit itself. These consequences, too, become of yet greater significance in the fact that they represent, in part at least, the contributions which a nation may be able to make to other nations.

At the present time, Australia and New Zealand are self-centered. Racial and national conditions and forces predominate. Such an egoistic condition is natural and inevitable. But the wiser men of these island-continents are beginning to think in world-terms. The thinking, too, will enlarge and become more intense with the process of the suns. They will, in increasing significance, ask themelves, "What

are the duties which the people of the Southern lands owe to other parts of the globe? What contributions can we make to the progress of other countries through the coming centuries? What forces can we add to the elements and the powers constituting civilization?"

Such questions intimate a condition of experimentation. Such a condition is normal, and is also full of a spirit of large hopefulness. For Australia and New Zealand are lands big enough in area and in population to provide materials for political and social experimentation, and also small and isolated enough to allow a study of specific elements of society and of government. They are possessed of climates diverse, from tropic heats to snow and ice, yet in which the elements of the temperate zones prevail; and, be it ever remembered, that in modern times as well as in ancient, climate has been recognized as one of the forces determining the character of civilization. The physical geography includes plain and mountain, desert and fertile field, river, lake and ocean. These peoples are also far remote from the populous centers and countries. Their experiments, therefore, can be conducted under favoring conditions of nature and of man.

The mood, too, in which Australia and New Zea-

land undertake experimentation, is interesting and impressive. It is the mood of superb optimism. It is their belief that Australia is not only the last, but the best, word which can be spoken concerning human affairs. They possess the assurance that Australasia is the noblest part of a good world, inhabited by the best part of a good race. Such a consciousness, intellectual and ethical, is in high contrast with the mood of the Greeks in their noblest age. The Greeks, if optimists at all, were possessed of the mild and gentle type of optimism. Some have declared them to be pessimists. But, if pessimistic was their interpretation of life, the pessimism was also mild and gentle. Life to the Greeks was, on the whole, gray. They sought to see things in proportion and relationship. Thoughtful, they were not beguiled by philosopher or by tragic poet into undue appreciation of achievements. They were considerate without emotional hopefulness, rationally hopeful without a white-crested faith in a future golden age. They emphasized man's present power rather than his future achievement. The Australian and the New Zealander, however, are filled with the belief, and with the enthusiasm resulting from such a belief, that the Southern Cross shines upon the best present, and the best future, world.

The mood and attitude of Australasia are far better expressed by Virgil than by any Greek poet, as he sings in the Fourth Eclogue:

"Receive this glory, for thy day is risen,
Thou child of gods, offspring of mighty Jove!
Look, how the round world with its burden reels,
Its far-spread shores and seas and searchless sky!
Look, with what joy it hails the time to be!" [1]

Already, however, an optimistic interpreter of conditions in Australia has enumerated certain worths which Australian society has won. Although some items in the list of assets certain interpreters would be inclined to place on the list of liabilities, yet it is becoming to allow an interpreter so comprehensive in vision and so wise in judgment, as is Professor Atkinson, to speak. The credits are no less than nineteen in number. They are as follows:

"(1) The more equitable distribution of wealth, both as national income and personal property. (2) The extension of political rights, through the universal franchise—including equality of the sexes—the Referendum, and similar democratic devices. (3) A very high level of general elementary education, as exhibited in the wide-spread interest

[1] "The Georgics and Eclogues of Virgil." Translation by Theodore Chickering Williams, p. 140.

in and understanding of domestic politics, and the remarkable number of magazines and newspapers. (4) The great strength of the political labor movement, and the frequent accession to political power of the Australian Labor Party in the States and the Commonwealth. (5) The power and numbers of the trade unions of Australia, unrivaled anywhere else in the world. (6) The non-existence of any peasant class or urban proletariat, in the old-world sense. (7) The absence of work-houses and other institutions for poor relief, which involve acceptance of the social problem as permanent and insoluble. (8) The system of old-age and invalid pensions and the baby bonus, on a scale far more generous than that of other countries. (9) Factory legislation of the most enlightened and advanced kind, rigorously enforced by the Governments, and particularly strict regarding the employment of women and children. (10) Relatively high wages for all occupations, and higher wages for laborers and women than in other countries. (11) The almost universal adoption of the eight-hours day and the forty-eight-hours week, with even shorter hours in some trades, together with the early closing of shops and public offices. (12) Enlightened Public Health Acts, and rigorous administration of Pure Foods and Drugs Acts. (13) A remarkably low

general death-rate, infant death-rate and prevalence of disease. (14) The nationalization of railways and numerous smaller enterprises, and the great amount of State intervention and control in industrial and commercial matters generally. (15) The regulation of the conditions of labor through Wages Boards and Arbitration Courts established by law. (16) The White Australian Policy, whose main objective is the preservation of the Australian standard of social welfare. (17) The 'New Protection,' whose aim is the same as that of the White Australian policy—the maintenance and elevation of the economic standards of Australian labor by fiscal measures. (18) The extremely enlightened administration of Papua (British New Guinea) by the Government of the Commonwealth. (19) The prevalence of open-air sports and pastimes, which are availed of by all classes to a remarkable degree." [1]

It is on the foundation of such assets and forces, already gained, that the citizen of the South land looks forward to the services which he may render and receive in the future decades and centuries. It is however to be noted that, in the facing of the future, the people of both Australia and New Zealand are inclined to depend upon the government for help

[1] Australia: "Economic and Political Studies," by Meredith Atkinson, pp. 10–11.

to a degree not found in many communities. Such a mood is one of the natural, and perhaps inevitable, results or even elements of a tendency toward socialism. This feeling of governmental dependence touches all relations of the people. If the fields of the farmer are visited by drought, he at once thinks of an appeal to the civil government to give relief from an act of Providence. If the plains or the mountain slopes of the ranchman are ravaged by fire, he immediately seeks assistance from the public benefactor. Of course, the result is more or less evil. For the Commonwealth, like the individual, is made strong and able by self-dependence. Ability is at once the result and the cause of ability. No country can win its noblest achievements except through individualities as constituting the community. These individualites should find in themselves their great source and resource of power and of progress. The New Testament doctrine of helping one's neighbors is, of course, to be adjusted to the economic creed of caring for one's self.

From such conditions, the interpreter can rightfully demand certain human results. One of the significant tokens embodying and expressing the results of modern civilization is found in the theories regarding humanity in its relation to material things. The theories pertain both to man and to nature:—

to man as an individual or as a member of society; to nature, animate or inanimate—to nature in all her processes, biological, physical, economic, botanical, zoölogical. One has no right, however, to demand of a society like Australia or New Zealand or the United States that scientists like Roger Bacon, or metaphysicians like Descartes or Kant, or social philosophers like Montesquieu or Adam Smith, or thinkers like John Stuart Mill, should immediately emerge from such a new society. As France preceded England in large thinkings and theories about man,—excepting, be it however said, in political liberty,—so England precedes the new lands of the west and of the south, in theory, economic, governmental, social.

There are, however, certain contributions or experiments, which Australia and New Zealand are, by reason of their constitution, history and environment, peculiarly qualified to make.

The first of these contributions, to which I wish again to allude, refers to the value to civilization of the maintenance of the purity of the white race. The arguments for and the objections against the coming into these lands of the brown, or the yellow, or the black, races have been stated and somewhat interpreted in a preceding chapter. I shall not now rehearse them. But, aside from the advantages and

disadvantages belonging to such conditions for the lands themselves, there does exist a peculiar reason for the adoption of the political and social policy of seclusion. This reason lies in the fuller knowledge which, through such prohibition and experimentation, the whole world may get of the comparative worth, or worthlessness, of purity of breed. Up to the present time, man has been, and still is, a mixture of racial traits. Each man, in fact, is himself a conglomerate. He is a community of many strains. Each individual race, as now constituted, contains elements of unnumbered races. How priceless, therefore, would be the result for human knowledge of the application, for an indefinite period, of the principle of purity of blood of a single tribe or nation, so far as such purity can now be secured. Certain observations have already been made regarding the integrity of members of the British race who moved to America in the seventeenth century. These observations [1] seem to prove that heredity is a far

[1] " . . . . to determine whether the descendants of the early American settlers, living in a new environment and more or less constantly intermarrying, were being amalgamated into a distinct sub-type of the white race. Enough has already been found, as this preliminary report shows, to prove that such amalgamation has not taken place to any important degree. The persistency in heredity of certain features, which run down even through six or eight generations, is one of the remarkable results brought out by the study." Journal

mightier force in forming character and in perpetuating personal characteristics than is environment or education.

Australasia, made a human experiment station, would offer richest additions to knowledge of the best methods for improving the human race. The possible richness of such a contribution is to be measured only by the seriousness of the present racial condition.

For the present condition *is* serious. The temptation is insistent for the Australasian people to allow the native races of India, of China and of Japan, to come and to settle on their lands and in their cities. For the need of workers on ranches, on plantations and in mines, is urgent. Such immigrations, and consequent effects imply a certain amalgamation of races, under forms both legitimate and illegitimate. In such amalgamations all evidences, available at the present hour, tend to prove that the less worthy partner, personal and racial, transmits his characteristics rather than the one more worthy. The dark, rather than the white color, persists in offspring. The lower associate pulls down the higher, rather than the higher lifts up the lower. As is said by a recent interpreter:—

of Heredity. "The Melting Pot a Myth," Vol. III, pp. 104–105, March, 1917.

"As in all wars since Roman times from a breeding point of view the little dark man is the final winner." [1]

"In most cases the blood of pioneers has been lost to their race. They did not take their women with them. They either died childless or left halfbreeds behind them. The virile blood of the Spanish conquistadores, who are now little more than a memory in Central and South America, died out from these causes." [2]

"The native Americans are splendid raw material, but have as yet only an imperfectly developed national consciousness. They lack the instinct of self-preservation in a racial sense. Unless such an instinct develops their race will perish, as do all organisms which disregard this primary law of nature. Nature had granted to the Americans of a century ago the greatest opportunity in recorded history to produce in the isolation of a continent a powerful and racially homogeneous people and had provided for the experiment a pure race of one of the most gifted and vigorous stocks on earth, a stock free from the diseases, physical and moral, which have again and again sapped the vigor of the older lands.

[1] "The Passing of the Great Race," by Madison Grant, p. 74.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75.

Our grandfathers threw away this opportunity in the blissful ignorance of national childhood and inexperience." [1]

It is greatly to be desired that Australia and New Zealand may not be guilty of the sin and racial crime which Mr. Grant thinks can be charged against the Americans. The people of the Southern lands should be allowed ample opportunity to try the experiment of a full development of the Nordic races.

A second contribution which Australasia, through Commonwealth and Dominion, may be able to offer to civilization lies in the form of a State which shall be more or less socialistic. The modern State has indeed become more, far more socialistic than is commonly believed. Government attempts to regulate private action in promoting morality as evidenced in the laws of gambling and of the sale of intoxicants, and it seeks to prevent disease, accidents, and the loss of life and of property. It oversees banks, it maintains regulations against nuisances, it keeps estates from becoming too large by inheritance taxes, it protects workmen engaged in certain trades, it seeks to promote health through purer food and drug laws, and tries to conserve natural resources in many and diverse ways. But besides such attempts at regulation it itself undertakes the doing of certain great

[1] Ibid. p. 90.

public works. It maintains schools and colleges and universities, libraries, museums and art galleries. It supports public parks, gymnasiums and swimming baths. It establishes water works, gas and electric plants. It inspects mines, elevators and steam boilers. It builds roads and maintains them. It surveys and charts the sea, neighboring to its coasts. It builds and maintains lighthouses. It provides life-saving stations. It erects, equips, administers hospitals and graveyards. Every citizen of the country, in some act or form of his life, every day from his cradle to his grave, is the subject of the work of the national or state or city government.[1]

The socialistic process has gone farther in Australia and New Zealand than in other parts, always of course excepting Russia,—a perilous condition which, at present, is not to be brought under judicial inquiry. In the constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia evidences abound of the socialism of the government. Provision is made for invalid and old-age pensions, for constructing, and running railroads, for giving votes to women, for the administration of telegraph and telephone lines, for the conciliation and arbitration of industrial dis-

[1] Professor Eugene Wambaugh's article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 81, pp. 120ff on the Present Scope of Government is most enlightening in this general field.

putes. The tendencies of the new age as well as the socialism of the state in taking over functions formerly belonging to the individual are manifest in many sections of the formal and fundamental instrument. The socialistic movement inheres in the Australasian life, as well as in the government. Chief among the elements is the committing of the government of the Commonwealth to a section of the people composed largely of one class. Such division represents a democratic movement, becoming in one respect yet more democratic, and yet, in another respect, becoming oligarchic. Doubt has grown in recent decades, regarding the permanency of democratic government. It is recognized that such government is usually extravagant in expenditure. It has not wiped out corruption and has not lessened the evil influence of wealth. It has not removed the fear of revolution. It has not increased the number of good citizens who are willing to serve the State. If it has served to increase the contentment of certain classes, it has not, in the opinion of many, produced greater or more general happiness.[1] There are, however, it is ever acknowledged, advantages in democracy. But the advantages and the disadvantages of a democracy, which develops into socialism, will not emerge for generations. The necessary time for

[1] See Bryce's "Modern Democracies," Vol. II, p. 562.

working out governmental and social experiments should be freely given to Australia and New Zealand, even if this time is to be measured, as it undoubtedly is to be measured, by centuries. For the results, thus achieved and made known, will have untold value for humanity's long future.[1]

A special form of this socialized experimentation relates to conciliation and arbitration as a method and means of industrial orderliness and advancement. In this single field the peoples of the South lands may be able to give to the world, afflicted with the disputes of capital and labor, service of the greatest worth. The machinery set up for avoiding ruptures between these two classes and forces is elab-

[1] Queensland is the most socialistic State of Australia. It has already gone to lengths far more extreme than are usually recognized or practiced. A distinguished and outstanding citizen of Brisbane, its capital, has said to me that the socialism of Queensland has adopted such indefensible measures, as choosing incompetent judges as members or heads of Arbitration Boards, as employing operatives on railroads three-fold above the necessities of the condition, and as intimating, at the behest of the labor unions, that school textbooks should be changed to meet industrial demands. It has been affirmed in reference to Queensland University and its socialistic tendency, that ignorance is put in the place of intelligence, incompetency is made a substitute for efficiency, lethargy for energy, inaction for initiative, indifference for personal interest, unreasonableness for soundness of judgment, and contentment with small results for happiness in large achievement.

orate. The work of the machinery, by Boards and Courts, is as efficient as can be found in any industrial society. The desire of good and lasting results for both classes especially concerned, and for all classes, is urgent. Despite these conditions, the results, so far secured, have not proved to be satisfactory. But, if agreement between capital and labor can be secured by economic means and under economic conditions, the outlook for such agreement is most promising in Australia and New Zealand. In the finding of satisfactory methods and in the installation of efficient means for reaching happy industrial conclusions, these lands apparently have richest offerings to make. That New Zealand has not continued to be "a country without strikes," does not at all disprove the value of its contributions to social justice and industrial welfare.

There are also two unique institutions of society upon whose permanence the Australasian peoples may shed light for the forthcoming generations. They are the institution of private property and the institution of the family. The origin of these institutions lies, in point of time, far back in the history of man. The method of the origin is also in debate. But the process of the development of these two primary institutions is neither obscure nor doubtful. The process is a long and constant and hard struggle.

The present conclusion of the struggle, which, however, may be only a step in the progress, is the institution of personal and private property and the institution of the monogamous family. Are these two institutions to endure? Are they a necessary and essential part of civilization? Are they a normal development or conclusion of the life of man? Are they a desirable and beneficent force of humanity? Such questions are asked. For answering such fundamental questions, there is reason to hope light may break forth from the lands lying beneath the Southern Cross.

The Australasian State or community may also offer an example of what the political state and the general community may ultimately become. For the Australasian community may be a microcosm of the future of the race. It may represent and form a cross-section of the noblest type of humanity. The physical conditions favor. The pure racial factor contributes. The historical forces are present, not as limitations, but as stimuli. Geographical limitations, if they give remoteness, also insure individuality. Imperial relations offer security, without undue dependence on foreign control. The ease of living is well adjusted to the need of labor for living. The reflective mood of the individual is fairly well adjusting itself to the ex-

cutive force. Education of every grade is held precious as a result, as well as a power, and will become more precious with the increasing generations. The sense of progressiveness prevails. Good will and helpfulness are not lacking. The brotherhood of man has a meaning beyond the meaning prevailing in most democracies. The worth of the individual and the happiness of the community are made the two points of a great, human ellipse. Even if perils do abound, and they do, they seem less insistent and menacing than elsewhere. If religion tends to lose its motive force, liberty to become unlicensed freedom, and equality to level down, yet these dangers are found only on the horizon of men's fancies and have no place at the zenith of their deeply reflecting moods. At some point in the limitless and unknown future, the new world of the South Seas will become an example of the perfectibility and of even the perfection of man as complete as the globe can offer.

"'Thus let the ages ever onward roll!'
So sang the Fates, turning their spindles round,
Obedient to the fixed decree of doom." [1]

[1] The Georgics and Eclogues of Virgil. Translated by Theodore Chickering Williams. Eclogue IV, p. 140.

XIII

CONCLUSION

In the Introduction, I wrote of the endeavor of man, for at least twenty-five hundred years, to establish, in theory or by practice, an ideal state. Australia and New Zealand are continuing, as an essentially integral unit, this traditional movement. These peoples will continue for many centuries the age-long processes. Many and rich are the advantages which they possess, as the preceding pages have sought to interpret, for pursuing this historic endeavor. These advantages will not fail in the future ages. For a diverse and rich world has been given to these peoples above most nations. The lessons of biology they are learning, and biology will continue to offer its rewarding teaching. The lessons of the yet vaster and more complex science of sociology they are learning, and these lessons will be studied with increasing eagerness and adequacy, —a process which is both cause and result of human and secular development. A Utopia in Australia and New Zealand may be far off, but

eugenics and euthenics will, in the human growths, advance its coming.

In the progress, and, so far as we can now perceive, in the ultimate consummation, at least three ideas and ideals will dominate as elemental and fundamental. These three, old as the Greek mind and modern as the newest thought, are the true, the good, and the beautiful. These three principles will determine questions of the white and of the colored races, of capital and labor, of education and religion. In a materialistic age, principles and ideals may be scoffed at as visionary. In an age that seeks immediate ends by shortest paths, they may be laughed out of court as remote. In any age that is intellectually superficial and morally trifling and timid, they may be branded as old-fashioned and antique. But the three principles will abide, as lasting as the cardinal virtues, as fundamental as the cardinal graces, as obligatory as the divine Commandments. For, under them, narrowness shall become breadth, and cheapness and pettiness vanish away. Upon whatever is unworthy of man's best, society shall ultimately turn its back. The compulsion of the trivial shall give way to the imperativeness of the great.

For the new peoples, or people, of the Southern hemisphere,—and a like interpretation applies to

the Northern, the Eastern, and the Western,—will be, in their methods of endeavor, scientific; and they will be educated in, and for, knowing and understanding all that can be known or understood. The power for their knowing and understanding will increase with the passing of the centuries, not indeed by leaps or bounds, but by that law of curvature which characterizes the intellectual progress of man. The world of things, physical and phenomenal, the world of man as a race, social, the world of man as an individual, subjective and personal, will become the object of knowledge, of comparison, of inference, more amply and more adequately than the preceding centuries have provided.

The good, the absolute good, too, will be pursued in this new kingdom of man. The fullest developments of the race and of the individual, of man and of animal, of the animate and inanimate, will be sought, and sought unto a proper and happy harmony. Antagonisms, if they linger, will minister to strength, and not to waste. Suffering shall lessen in a well regulated world, and its continuance, if it continue, shall serve chiefly to give fuller evidence in the future of creative design. The categorical imperative, "I ought," shall rest upon all, an inspiring command to the happy and obedient soldier, and not

as a thundering imprecation to the cringing victim. The good in character shall become the right in conduct and in action.

The beautiful, moreover, which is beheld as the unconscious product of nature, shall become both the unconscious and the conscious result of man's endeavor and life. Its presence shall give pleasure without softness or satiety. Its worth shall win disciples, and its disciples shall duly become quickening apostles. The sublime shall eliminate the sordid; the grand, the gaudy; and the really great, the silly, the petty, and the mean. The ideal shall not be too far remote from the real, nor the real from the ideal. But the higher shall endeavor to lift the real unto its level, and the real shall seek to make the ideal minister to the eternal, as well as to the daily, needs of man.

This trinity of the true, the good, and the beautiful, so far as we now perceive, are ultimate values and absolute standards. In the future time fully, and in the present time somewhat, they shall give to the life of the human spirit, lived in Southern hemispheres, the realization of the dreams of the prophet, the incarnation of the divine ideal of the priest, and the establishment of the human state with man as the supreme monarch. The lost Atlantis, if it were lost at all, shall not be found; but the island-

continents of the Southern hemisphere are rich in promise, far richer than the island of the ancient fable.

It is a long, very long, and hard, very hard, road which these new peoples have to travel. But that they will travel it with firm patience, with noble enthusiasm, with unflagging hopefulness, and with, at last, a happy home-coming, every believer in Australia and New Zealand is confident.

In his eventful and formative voyage on the *Beagle,* Charles Darwin visited Australia. He bade farewell to it with these words which were written in 1836: "Farewell, Australia! you are a rising child, and doubtless some day will reign a great princess in the South; but you are too great and ambitious for affection, yet not great enough for respect. I leave your shores without sorrow and regret." [1] I would change the valedictory of the great scientist by saying that Australia is not "too great and ambitious for affection," and also that she is "great enough for respect." In my judgment and feeling toward her, both affection and respect are united; my affection is warm and my respect deep.

[1] "Journal of Researches," by Charles Darwin, Chapter XIX.

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